THE TRUMAÍ INDIANS OF CENTRAL BRAZIL

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XXIV

ROBERT F. MURPHY and BUELL QUAIN

THE
TRUMAÍ INDIANS
OF
CENTRAL BRAZIL

[Title Page]

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000 ROBERT F. MURPHY AND BUELL QUAIN

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FOREWORD

In 1938 Buell Quain spent four months, from August to November, among the Trumaí Indians of the upper Xingú River area of central Brazil. In December of 1938 he was recalled to Rio de Janeiro, and failing to obtain governmental permission for his return to the upper Xingú, at least under conditions allowing minimal possibilities for field research, he was unable to continue his studies among the Trumaí. He went instead to do ethnographic and linguistic work among the Gê-speaking Kraho in the state of Maranhão. There, in April 1939, he died. 114

Quain's research among the Trumaí was, therefore, interrupted and incomplete. He left it in the form of hand-written field notes and a diary. These were carefully and painstakingly arranged and typed by his mother, Dr. Fannie Dunn Quain. Several years after her son's death, Dr. Quain entrusted these notes to me with the understanding that if they proved to be of anthropological value, they would be prepared for publication or otherwise made available to scholars interested in the field. At one time I had hoped that another anthropologist might continue Quain's researches among the Trumai, and that his notes might thus be incorporated into a more complete investigation of this little-known society. But, in 1946, I was informed by Eduardo Galvão, who had visited the upper Xingú River area, that the number of Trumaí had critically diminished and that Trumaí life was so seriously disorganized that it was doubtful whether they could exist as a tribal entity. It was apparent that little, if any, ethnographic data on the Trumaí beyond that contained in the scattered references of earlier anthropologists who had visited the region and the data in Buell Quain's notes would ever be available to us.

Robert F. Murphy therefore undertook to analyze, order, and prepare 128
for publication the data gathered by Buell Quain. His task was first 114
conceived as essentially that of an editor and a grant from the Buell [122]
Quain Fund was made to him for this purpose. It soon became clear that ordering and editing were not enough. While the notes were rich in detail and insights, there were many gaps which Quain certainly was aware of, and there were interpretations and generalizations about Trumaí culture which he undoubtedly would have inserted in his final report. Robert Murphy found that to understand Buell Quain's field work, he would have to immerse himself in the only available document-

128 ation — he would have to read and re-read the notes, learn the names 114 of the numerous informants and other individuals mentioned there and in the diaries, identify them as to age, sex, status, family membership, etc., familiarize himself with place names and Trumaí terms just as a field investigator would have to do. In addition, Murphy was able to [127] utilize publications on the tribes of the upper Xingú region and of the tropical forest. He was able to consult with Dr. Eduardo Galvão who had worked in the upper Xingú area. And, after the first draft of this manuscript was completed, he was able to make many corrections on the basis of his own experiences among the tropical forest Mundurucú.

Throughout this account, Murphy has adhered to Quain's formulations as closely as possible, but to make them more comprehensible, he has carried analysis further and often added his own interpretations. And his knowledge of Quain's material authorized him to do so. Thus he gives us, not a complete monograph on the Trumaí, but as systematic and intelligible a picture of Trumaí culture and society as his limited data permitted. This monograph is presented for what it is — the field observations of a highly competent research anthropologist analyzed and interpreted by a capable and sympathetic fellow-anthropologist.

114 Something should be said about the general conditions of field research and about Buell Quain as an anthropologist. All anthropologists who knew Quain personally, and those who have read his *Fijian Village*,[1] are impressed by his skill as a field research worker and by his feeling for peoples and cultures not his own. Among the Trumaí, as earlier in a Fijian community, he participated as fully as any outsider could in the culture under study. He was scientifically rigorous, verifying his observations and hypotheses again and again, and when possible giving verbatim statements.

But, above all, Buell Quain liked people, and everywhere he saw them as whole human beings. This was apparent in 1938 in his great concern for the Trumaí canoemen who waited for him at an Indian post near the Xingú headwaters and who were forced to cross "enemy" territory on their return trip to their village. This was apparent in his field notes and diary and in his search to understand the complex motivations of his friends (and enemies). This was apparent in the reactions of the people themselves: in 1946 the few Trumaí whom Eduardo Galvão encountered on the Xingú asked for "Capitão Quain" and spoke of him in glowing terms. And when Galvão camped with the remaining Trumaí in 1952, young people who were but very small children in 1938 knew stories of "Capitão Quain" told them by their parents.

Buell Quain had an artist's responsiveness both to people and surroundings. I shall never forget his description of a phenomenon I later ex-

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[1] Quain 1948.

perienced. He told me of the effect of the tropical dawn on tropical forest 114
peoples. Traveling in the dark, he noted, Indian canoemen tend to break the monotony by singing and talking, but just before the sun appears, they suddenly fall silent, as if in expectation of a sacred moment. Again and again, in camps and while traveling with Brazilian Indians, I was reminded of Quain's perception.

Although Robert Murphy rightly points out the decline of population 114
and the trend toward disintegration of Trumaí culture even in 1938, the 122
Trumaí were a functioning primitive society when Quain visited them. 161
The upper Xingú River area was still very difficult to reach at that time. 182
In 1938 access was by way of Cuyabá, the capital of Matto Grosso. Quain traveled from Cuyabá to the Indian post Simões Lopes by truck, then over savanna grasslands for six days on oxen, then down the Kuliseu River by canoe for seven days to a mission station maintained by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young. After a delay here of almost three weeks, he spent another three weeks reaching the Trumaí, traveling slowly and visiting several tribal groups *en route*. The Kamayurá, at whose village he stayed shortly, provided him with canoemen for the last lap of his journey. It took Quain 38 days to return up river and cross the savanna country to Simões Lopes on leaving the Trumaí in late 1938.

Quain's letters to his mother and to his colleagues describe his trip to 123
the Trumaí vividly. To quote a passage telling of his experiences on the upper Kuliseu River on his way to the mission station:

> The river journey was pleasant, until we began to have trouble. Even then I enjoyed it thoroughly. I had too much baggage for two canoes as I had planned. We had to use three. Besides myself I have two Brazilian men and a boy to help with the canoes. I had to paddle one myself and I enjoyed it thoroughly — despite the fact that white men aren't supposed to do that kind of thing. I gave the largest canoe with the most valuable cargo to the Brazilian whom I thought was the best canoeist. He had the boy to help with the paddling and poling through the rapids. Nevertheless it was his canoe which filled with water on the second day. We had to stop on a rock ledge and spread the things out to dry. Lots of rice and beans, papers and books, etc. It was evening. Not until the next morning did we realize that the sun barely touched the rocky ledge that we had chosen for drying the cargo. There was a wind — the worst of the dampness was removed before nightfall. Everything went well until we struck some swift rapids on the fifth day, when the same large canoe wrapped itself around a rock and the cargo went sailing down the river about eight miles an hour. I managed to rescue everything but a bag of farinha, a frying pan, a fishline and a couple of cakes of the hard unrefined sugar, which forms an important part of the diet throughout Matto Grosso.[8]

And about the Indians he wrote from the missionary station:

> My work for the next month is going to be a jumble of languages. It may take a month to reach the Trumaí because the Indians like to rest all the time. This means that I will have ample time to contact several in each of three different linguistic families (Carib, Arawak, Tupí). The Trumaí are entirely unrelated. This

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[8] Quain letter, July 13, 1938.

123 means that I simply must come back here soon, within the next five years — so I can take advantage of the long delay. I expect to know a lot of useful, but academically unimportant things about the Kuliseu before I get through. This is the place — if I ever heard of one — where a half-dozen ethnologists should be working. Friendly Indians as yet untouched; twenty or more villages within a radius of a month's travel — all of which are culturally different, one from the other. In fact nothing nicer can be imagined.[3]

114 Although several expeditions had penetrated the upper Xingú area before Quain's time, the greater part of the region was unexplored. Karl von den Steinen is perhaps the best known of the early investigators. Reports of his trips in 1884 and 1887 are given in *Durch Central-Brasilien: Erste Schingu Expedition*[4] and in *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*,[5] respectively. Together they provide us with the first ethnographic data on the tribes of the upper Xingú area. Von den Steinen was warned by the other tribes in the area not to visit the Trumaí, who were said to be dangerous warriors and antagonistic to all outsiders. But contact was made eventually, first with isolated individuals and later with two villages. Von den Steinen describes the small, thin people who received him and his colleagues with solicitous hospitality.
[291] Some women still wore the traditional pubic covering, the *uluri*. The German ethnographer also noted the peculiar speech of the Trumaí, their excitability, their uneasy relationships and wars with neighboring tribes, and certain features of material culture.

Von den Steinen's expeditions were followed by numerous others, but only those of Hermann Meyer in 1896 and 1899,[6] Max Schmidt in 1901,[7] and Vincent Petrullo in 1931[8] had ethnological importance. Yet systematic knowledge of the upper Xingú tribes remained relatively scanty, limited to information mainly on material culture and word lists. In fact, until Quain's visit to the Trumaí, most of the ethnographic researches in the area were essentially in the nature of general surveys. Although Quain's data are incomplete, his was the first attempt to study with modern anthropological methods the life of an upper Xingú River tribe, and this at a time when the people of the area were still relatively undisturbed by outside influences.

177 Today, however, the long isolation of the upper Xingú River area is being broken. In 1945, an expedition of the Central Brasil Foundation, which aimed at opening a road through Brazil to the Amazon, penetrated the region, and constructed a landing strip. The Brazilian Indian Service now maintains a permanent post in the heart of this region, and several anthropologists (and numerous other scientists, journalists, and tourists) have traveled into the area by Brazilian Airforce planes.

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[3] Quain letter, July 28, 1938.
[4] Von den Steinen 1886.
[5] Von den Steinen 1897.
[6] Meyer 1896—7 and 1900.
[7] Schmidt 1902—4.
[8] Petrullo 1932.

Recent ethnographic researches have for the most part concentrated 114
upon the Kamayurá (Galvão 1949, 1950, and 1952; Oberg 1953), the Waurá
(de Lima 1949, 1950), and the Kuikuru (Robert Carneiro and Gertrude
E. Dole, unpublished). Only incidentally have these observers commented
upon the Trumai. Therefore, in 1953 when I had the opportunity
to spend a little time in the upper Xingú area, I made a point of remaining
a few days with the remants of the Trumai. They were camped [361
temporarily at Karajaja, the old village site, on a lake about half a mile 103]
away from the Kuluene River; their permanent houses were then at
Anariatan, near the village site during Quain's visit. It was the dry
season and the Trumai were fishing. There were only 24 persons in the
group — six adult males, ten adult females, four boys and four girls.
Three of the women were unmarried widows, and there was one unmarried [551]
girl just past puberty. The chieftain whose current name was [595]
Ilitoari (no doubt the Aloari of Quain's notes), was married to two
sisters, and there were four monogamous families. Two of the men were [589]
old and unmarried. Thus, the Trumai were again united as a village
(they had disbanded for a while). In 1953, however, there were not even [526]
enough men for the Trumai to participate in the intertribal spear-throwing
contests, a sport in which they had once been famous throughout
the area.

The process of steady social and cultural disintegration and depopulation, 182
which was already apparent among the Trumai in 1938, has
been a continuing one; and it is only a question of a very short time
before these people cease to exist as a separate tribal group. Thus, the
information and insights that Robert Murphy has brought together from
Buell Quain's field work may be all that we shall ever have on Trumai
life and society.

Columbia University CHARLES WAGLEY
February 1955

[P. x contains no textual material]

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD BY CHARLES WAGLEY .... v 000

INTRODUCTION BY ROBERT F. MURPHY 1

CHAPTER I. THE UPPER XINGÚ AREA 4
  Previous Field Surveys 4
  Geographical Features 4
  The Neighbors of the Trumai 7
  Trumai History 8
  Warfare 10
  Intermarriage 16
  Specialization and Trade 18

CHAPTER II. TRUMAI SUBSISTENCE AND TECHNOLOGY 20
  Vital Statistics 20
  Village and Gardens 20
  Horticultural Techniques 22
  Fishing Techniques 25
  Gathering 27
  Hunting 29
  Foods 29
  House Building 32
  Canoes 34
  Basketry 34
  Textiles 34
  Ceramics 35
  Wood Manufactures 35
  Weapons 35
  Firemaking 36
  Ornaments and Body Decoration 36
  Work Patterns 38

CHAPTER III. TRUMAI SOCIAL ORGANIZATION 40
  Property Ownership 40
  Inheritance 42
  The Trade Game 42
  The Household 44
  The Nuclear Family 46
  Divorce and Adultery 48
  Kinship Terminology 49
  Incest Restrictions 51
  Joking Relations 52
  Avoidance and Respect 53
  Avunculate 54
  The Chieftaincy 54

Conflict 57
The Men's Circle 59
Status 60

CHAPTER IV. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES 62
Shamanism 62
Witchcraft 64
Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease 65
Group Curing Ceremony 66
The *Ole* Ceremony 67
The *Piqui* Ceremony 70
The Spear-Throwing Contest 71
The Bull Roarer 71
Deities and Mythology 72
The Origin of Things 73
The After-Life 75
Jemenary and Kelenewary 75
Lore and Learning 76

CHAPTER V. THE LIFE CYCLE 78
Birth 78
Early Childhood 78
Pre-Pubescence 80
Puberty Rites 84
Female Puberty 87
Marriage 88
Old Age 89
Death 90
Recreation and Amusement 91
Manners and Morals 93

CHAPTER VI. THE DEATH OF A CULTURE 97

APPENDIX. EXCERPTS FROM A LETTER TO PROFESSOR RUTH F. BENEDICT FROM BUELL QUAIN 103
BIBLIOGRAPHY 107

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE I. ON THE KULUENE RIVER
PLATE II. (a) TRUMAÍ CAMPING AT KARAJAJA
(b) WORKING MANIOC
PLATE III. (a) ALOARI
(b) YANAKI
(c) KOKUNU, SUYÁ WOMAN
PLATE IV. (a) YAWALA
(b) MOTHER AND CHILD IN HAMMOCK

MAP

THE UPPER XINGÚ AREA 6

INTRODUCTION

Many people do not read the prefaces to monographs. This one must be read in order to understand what follows. 114

The writer never met his co-author, Buell Quain, for Quain died sixteen years ago. Some six months before his death he had terminated a period of four months field research among the Trumaí Indians of the Xingú River in northern Matto Grosso, Brazil. Among his effects were his field notes, which represented the results of one of the most difficult investigations ever undertaken by an ethnologist.

In 1949, shortly after I commenced my graduate studies in anthropology, Professor Charles Wagley of Columbia University asked me to edit the Trumaí notes. After further consideration of the material, Professor Wagley and I concluded that the notes had been ordered as far as was possible by Quain's mother, Dr. Fannie Dunn Quain, and that they could best be presented in the form of a monograph, which I was to write.

First, let me describe Buell Quain's Trumaí notes. In essence they 126 consist of a remarkably detailed field diary in which Quain had recorded the daily activities and events of the Trumaí village. If a woman walked from one house to another bearing food, it was duly stated. The play of the children, the facial expressions apparent during ceremonies, the slightest nuances of interpersonal behavior were all put into the notebook. Present also are charts showing the daily economic activities of every villager and a report, in all its minutiae, of what occurred in a household of an afternoon. Quain also set down in his daily log many comments made to him by his Trumaí informants and scraps of conversation which he overheard.

The notes are a triumph of participant observation. Quain understood 123 very little Trumaí, although his diary shows that he was learning it [122] rapidly by the time of his departure. He evidently maintained some communication with certain bilingual Trumaí by using Tupí, of which he appears to have had a fragmentary knowledge. Lacking the means to do detailed informant work, Quain leaned heavily on his observations of the behavior and activity of all the Trumaí, and he also learned much from his own personal interaction with them. He was deeply sensitive to the mutual relationships between himself and the subjects of his study, as he was completely alone in his sojourn; he did not even have a Brazilian backwoodsman for help and companionship. He entrusted

123 himself to the hospitality of the Indians and in return received their confidence.

A feeling of aloneness permeates the Quain notes. He was in the midst of people with whom he had limited communication, due not only to the obstacle of language, but to the cultural gulf separating him from them. The threat of enemy attack was at that time constant in the upper Xingú area; life was precarious and civilization far off. Perhaps this existence sharpened his observations and increased the depth of his insights, for these are fine notes. Buell Quain's Trumaí
114 field trip is part of a tradition of ethnographic field research of which the anthropological profession may well be proud. His story, told more fully by Dr. Charles Wagley in the Foreword, adds one more legend to the saga of primitivist studies.

114 My own role in the writing of this monograph was to assemble and order the facts collected by Quain and to evaluate the data in terms of
128 which behavior and attitudes are normative within Trumaí culture, which lie within the range of permissible variation, and how such traits are merged in the whole. Facts do not speak for themselves. The concept of culture implies an interrelatedness of the components, which, in turn, calls for interpretation on the part of the ethnologist. It might be said that the information is Quain's product; its ordering into a coherent description of Trumaí culture mine. It is impossible, however, to so neatly separate the Murphy from the Quain in this monograph, for Quain's interests and ideas have influenced my interpretation of the data. Conversely, the facts have no doubt been affected by the interpretation. For this reason, I have included as many illustrations and examples from the notes as was possible. I have also avoided generalizing statements in the actual description of Trumaí culture, and overall interpretations have been reserved for the conclusion. The final chapter, then, is my own view of the dynamics involved in the breakdown of Trumaí culture and society. The reader will by that time be in essential command of the data upon which the generalizations are based and free to make up his own mind.

128 Quain's most adequate information is on the closely interrelated subjects of personality, ethos, life cycle, and interpersonal behavior and attitudes. Material culture, technology, and religion are less thoroughly documented. Thus, the orientation of the monograph is the result of Quain's own interests. I have also visualized my task to be a description of the Trumaí Indians in 1938, and reference has been made to other sources only to place them in the context of history and the cultural landscape of the upper Xingú River region.

114 Quain's field work was never completed and the reader will find large gaps in this monograph. Undoubtedly, there are errors and much that is in disagreement with other data and other field workers. It is

doubtful, however, that we will ever have a full study of the Trumaí, such as Quain had planned, for they are now on the verge of extinction.

Although I must bear the responsibility for the shortcomings of this monograph, others must share credit for any redeeming features it may have. Drs. A. L. Kroeber and Julian H. Steward have read sections of the manuscript and contributed many valuable comments. Miss Jane Phillips edited the first draft and helped in its organization. The manuscript owes much to my wife, Yolanda Murphy, who typed and edited it in all its stages and gave of her own insights as an anthropologist. Dr. Charles Wagley initiated and supervised this effort, and it profited greatly from his knowledge and experience gained among Brazilian primitives. But for him, Buell Quain's Trumaí material would still be inaccessible to interested students. Dr. Wagley also furnished the photographs included in this monograph, which were taken during his visit to the Trumaí in 1953, fifteen years after Quain had worked among them.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the financial support given by the Buell Quain Fund towards the preparation of this study. Publication was made possible by the Columbia University Social Science Research Council and the American Ethnological Society. The writer would like to express his gratitude to all these people and institutions.

Urbana, Illinois
January 1955.

ROBERT F. MURPHY

CHAPTER ONE

THE UPPER XINGÚ AREA

Previous Field Surveys

114 Buell Quain's research among the Trumaí Indians of the upper Xingú River in Brazil was accomplished during the months of August to November of 1938. There have been expeditions since then, and several preceded it. The best known of the early ethnographers is Karl von den Steinen, who was the first white man to explore the tributaries of the Xingú and to contact and report upon the tribes there. His trips of 1884 and 1887 were followed by those of Hermann Meyer in 1897 and 1899, Max Schmidt in 1901, and Vincent Petrullo in 1931. Since Quain's trip, Oberg in 1948, Galvão in 1947 and 1950, de Lima in 1947 and 1948, and Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole in 1953–54 have worked among the "tribes" of the upper Xingú.[*] Most of the earlier research was in the form of surveys, which did not concentrate on the culture of any one group. Intensive studies can only be done through continuous residence among and careful observation of a tribe. Quain did exactly this for several months, filling a gap of much-needed information from the upper Xingú. He has also treated social, political, and religious structure much more thoroughly than the surveys, which have given especial attention to material culture. Since the other sources have treated this aspect of culture more completely than did Quain, and as Quain himself was more interested in non-material culture, the present work will follow his emphasis.

Geographical Features

131 The tributaries of the Xingú River have particularly attracted ethnologists, because the inaccessibility of the region has made it a fortress against the inroads of Brazilian civilization. There were probably few places in Brazil harder to reach. Entry from the north is virtually impossible as the main stream of the Xingú is blocked by falls, and transportation by river boat is therefore precluded. Travel above the fall

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[*] The term "tribe" is commonly accepted by anthropologists to mean a multi-community group unified within a common social structure or by continuous political controls, the people of which share the same language and culture and feel themselves to be one. This is not true of the upper Xingú groups, and the term is used herein for purposes of convenience and in its broadest sense only.

line by canoe would involve a journey of several hundred miles through 131
mostly uninhabited country. The southern approach is the only feasible
one for surface transportation. Even this is difficult as canoes and pack
animals are needed after leaving Cayabá. Between that city and the
upper Xingú, the Planalto de Matto Grosso intervenes. This is an extremely rugged upland, hard to traverse. The isolation of the area made
difficulties for ethnologists, but these were more than compensated for
by the intactness of the native cultures. The establishment in 1947 of an 131
outpost and airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, located below the 197
juncture of the Kuluene and Kuliseu rivers, has done much to overcome
the physical obstacles. The near future should see a considerable increase
in ethnographic data from the headwaters of the Xingú.

In 1938 the Trumaí village was situated on the Kuluene River near 133
its juncture with the Kuliseu. The Kuluene is the easternmost of the six
parallel rivers that form the headwaters of the Xingú. The Xingú, itself, [361]
is one of the largest of the rivers tributary to the Amazon. It joins the
Amazon about two hundred miles from the mouth of that river, after
flowing from south to north for approximately one thousand miles. The
six rivers which flow parallel to each other for over two hundred miles
and then join to form the Xingú are, from east to west, the Kuluene,
Kuliseu, Batoví, Jatobá, Ronuro, and Steinen rivers. They rise in the
uplands, flowing through plains country and gallery forest. Further
downstream they widen out and begin their descent into the tropical
rain forest. The open country between the streams diminishes and the
area covered by forest increases. The terrain is flat with but slight elevations between the rivers. Opening on the rivers are marshy subsidiary
streams and large systems of lagoons which extend for several miles.
Adjacent to the Kuluene and Kuliseu are broad sections of periodically
inundated savannah lands, which are little used by the Indian population.

The heavy rains from October to April have the same profound effect 132
upon the annual cycle of life here as they do in other sections of the
Brazilian rain forest. Of great importance, also, is the effect of the rains
upon the soil. The rains are too heavy to allow the surface soil to retain
them. The water runs off or sinks deeply into the loose earth, leaching 134
the surface of minerals and making it poor for agriculture. Since no 241
form of mineral replenishment is used, a garden plot becomes exhausted
in about two or three years, or after two plantings.

Nevertheless, the rain forest is suitable for primitive agriculture,
since the looseness of the soil makes it ideally adapted to the primitive
tools in use. As the open grasslands in this section of South America
have extremely poor soil and cannot be tilled with simple hand tools,
the Trumaí, like other tropical forest peoples, are forced to make their
gardens in forest clearings in locations that are not flooded annually. [361]

[text continues on p. 7]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

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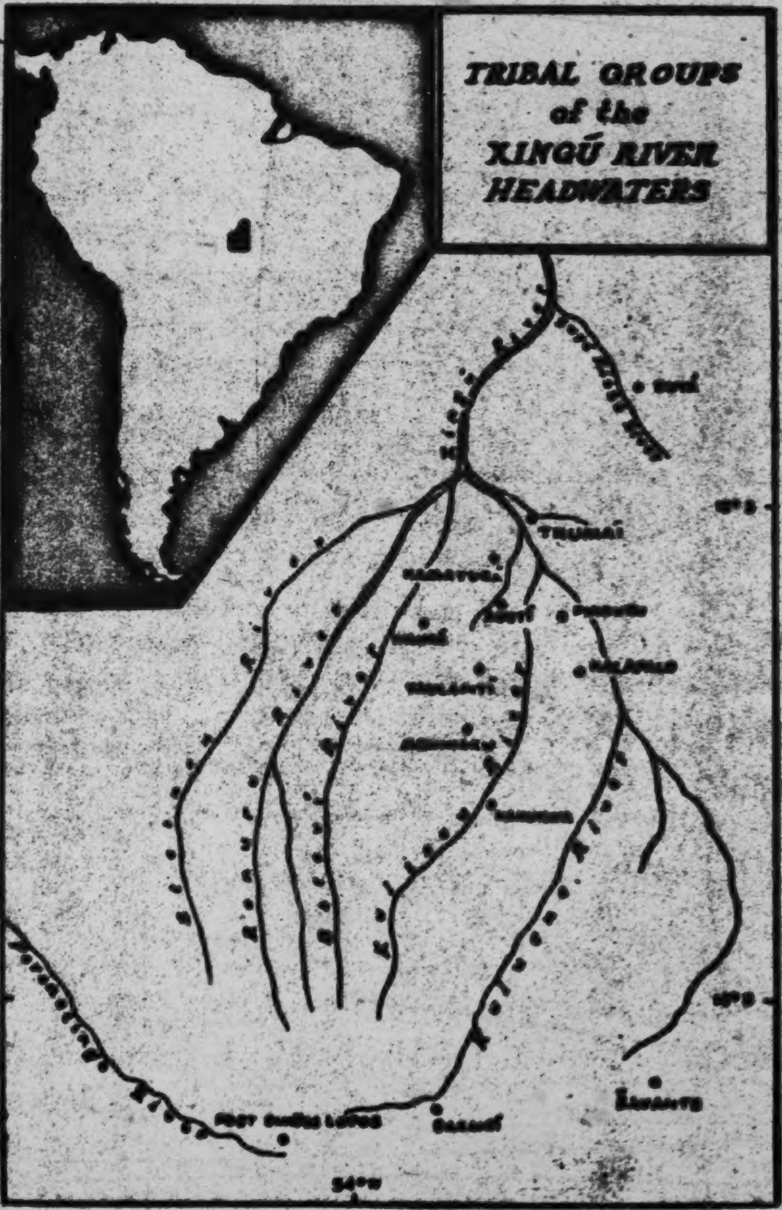
131
133
361


TRIBAL GROUPS
of the
XINGÚ RIVER
HEADWATERS
TRUMAÍ
54° W

The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although 134
not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is ex- 241
hausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land 361
around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and
protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available
to the village has been used, the group moves.

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the 105
upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting 226
horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons,
and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great 241
enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village 423
maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized.

The Neighbors of the Trumai

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the 101
upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main 197
language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Aueti, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapiti, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited
by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain [648]
a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area.

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident 101
from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries.

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all ob- 171
servers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each [114]
other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein;

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[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapiti, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1886. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

171 zoomorphic benches; the bull roarer; use of the spear-thrower in inter-
tribal games; whistling arrows; the mode of hair-cutting and body
painting and ornamentation; the use of the *uluri*, or triangular bark
pubic cover. The basic subsistence economies of the upper Xingú groups
are almost identical, and there are strong similarities in social organiza-
tion. In the latter sphere, the extended family, bilaterality with some
patrilineal emphasis, patrilocality, and the men's cult appear general.
The various tribes share many of the same ceremonies and co-participate
in some. Insofar as is known, shamanism is much the same among all
groups, and there is great similarity in religious beliefs and in mythology.

Trumaí History

174 Although the linguistic affiliations of the other upper Xingú peoples
167 indicate their origins to be in the north, all available evidence points to
a migration of the Trumaí from the southeast. Apparently this move
did not occur very long ago, for the Trumaí themselves still tell of it.
According to Trumaí tradition they came into their present habitat from
a land far to the southeast. There, they say, there is still a Trumaí village.
Informants varied as to whether or not the forebears of the Xingú
[291] Trumaí knew how to grow manioc. They were said to have had long
hair like the Gê-speaking Suyá, to hunt tapir, and to tie up their penes.
Matiwana, the old man of the Trumaí, claimed to remember when the
Trumaí still treated their genitalia in this way. He also claimed that,
[177] when the Trumaí moved into the area and saw the Kamayurá and other
tribes, they adopted the customs of hair-cutting and penis freedom.
[291] The tale, coupled with the fact that the Trumaí women did not use the
true *uluri* pubic cover when von den Steinen first visited them,[5] suggests
a fairly recent entry of the Trumaí into the upper Xingú area — perhaps
no earlier than the nineteenth century — and due possibly to the pres-
sures of white colonization.

174 Other evidence also argues for the recency of the present Trumaí
habitat. The diffusion of culture traits in the upper Xingú is extensive,
177 and in most cases it is difficult to determine the direction of borrowing.
The Trumaí lexicon, however, shows heavy influence from their neigh-
bors, especially the nearby Kamayurá. This influence manifests itself
chiefly in names of plants and objects of material culture and in cere-
[533] monial songs. The songs of two major Trumaí ceremonies, both of which
are practiced also by the Kamayurá, show a preponderance of Kama-
yurá words and phrases. Carib and Arawakan words are frequent in
[192] other songs. Also, the word for bull roarer in both Kamayurá and Trumaí
is *uriuri*. The Trumaí words for such typically tropical forest domestica-

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[5] Von den Steinen, 1897, p. 188.

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ted plants as beans and gourds and for the flat manioc flour cake, the [177]
beijú, are almost identical with the corresponding Kamayurá words. [192]
The pre-contact history of the Trumaí is largely inferential and their
recent history is poorly documented. The white explorers and scientists 175
who visited the upper Xingú frequently did not encounter the Trumaí, 114
and almost never visited their villages. Historical data indicate that in
von den Steinen's time and possibly as late as the 1931 trip of Petrullo
the Trumaí lived in two villages. Von den Steinen showed an abandoned
Trumaí village, in substantially its present location, and another on the
lower end of the Tsahuku, a network of waterways and lagoons west
of and parallel to the Kuliseu River.[6] Although Meyer's map did not
show this southern village in 1896,[7] it appears in Schmidt's map for
1901.[8] Petrullo encountered Trumaí, most probably of the southern
village, on the west bank of the Kuliseu, between the locales of the
Nahukwa and Mehinaku villages.[9] M. Moennich, one of a party of [797]
American missionaries who descended the Kuliseu in 1937, did not,
however, note a Trumaí village near this site.[10] When Quain arrived in [361]
1938 there was only one Trumaí village, which was located at the northern
site. This would suggest that the southern village was abandoned in
1937–38, but it is possible that those Trumaí seen by Petrullo and
Moennich were the same ones whom Quain visited.

The northern and southern villages mentioned in the literature are 175
the only ones recorded. It is certain that since 1884 there have only
been two communities, although each has been located in many different 361
places. Unfortunately, the exact locations of the abandoned sites and 103
their periods of occupation are not well known. Each of the old village
locales had a name, and these designations are still known. Among them
are Morena, Waniwani, Karajaja, Iakare, Jawpew, and Wahldat. Some
of the names, such as Iakare, are obviously of Tupian origin. Jawpew
was the name of the northern Trumaí village at the time of von den
Steinen's expeditions. Karajaja was the last location before the one in
which Quain resided. This site was located near the Kamayurá village
on the Tsahuku and appears on Petrullo's map. The Trumaí said that
it was a good village, but that they had to move because the Kamayurá
and Aueti were practicing sorcery against them. The village to which
they moved, and where Quain visited them, was named Anariatan.

People were often referred to by other Trumaí according to the village 175
in which they were born. Thus, a *Wahldat ʃaxlo* was, literally, a son of [551]
Wahldat. Also, garden sites were most commonly named after an [552]
abandoned village. The old villages were looked on with reverence as
the homes of the ancestors of the Trumaí. They were considered to be [769]
places of great interest, and Quain was repeatedly urged to visit them.

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[6] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 93.
[7] Meyer 1897, Plate I.
[8] Schmidt 1942.
[9] Petrullo 1932, p. 180.
[10] Moennich 1942.

175 361 423 552 The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

178 161 361 The Trumaí were once feared by the other tribes of the upper Xingú and were evidently a relatively numerous and vigorous people. However, when Quain visited them in 1938, they numbered only 43, and only ten years later, in 1948, the population had shrunken to a meagre 25.[11] Their small numbers had forced them to abandon village life once since Quain's visit, but they subsequently reunited in a new community.[11a]

Warfare

177 487 648 The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingú Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. The Bakairí Indians of the Paranatinga River were on a friendly basis with the headwaters groups only because they had once lived on the Batoví River. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities. Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingú villages, there was considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation. The practice of sorcery upon other villages is especially significant, in that sorcery is used in nearly all cultures only between people who share close interpersonal ties. This illustrates better than anything else the high degree of intervillage integration in the upper Xingú River Basin. The component groups constitute far more than a culture area — they form a society.

181 186 648 Despite the nominal peace within the upper Xingú area, the Trumaí lived in dread of their neighbors, and with good reason.[12] Situated

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[11] Oberg 1953, p. 4.

[164] [11a] Latest reports state that a measles epidemic has wrought great havoc, and that the *few survivors* have all joined other groups.

[12] Although fear of neighboring groups is general in the upper Xingú, de Lima (1949, p. 25) noted it to be especially strong among the numerically weak Trumaí.

between the warlike Gé-speaking Suyá and the peaceful but overbearing 181
Kamayurá, they were an easy prey to these tribes and to others 186
more peripheral to the region, such as the Caiabí and Kayapó. The 186
tribes the Trumaí feared most were those to the north. These included 648
the Suyá, Yuruna, and an unidentified group. The Yuruna, located by Galvão on the Diauarun River, north of the Suyá, were said to have made raids on the headwater villages,[13] but nothing is known of any aggression by the unnamed tribe. There is definite documentation of numerous assaults by the Suyá, whose reputation for ferocity is unequalled in the area.

The Suyá villages are located several days journey to the north on 648
the Suyá Missú River, and forays into the Kuluene-Kuliseu region have become relatively rare since the establishment of local airfields. Quain was of the opinion that the last Suyá raid on the Trumaí took place about twenty years ago when the brother of the Trumaí chief was killed. Two of Quain's informants had been captured by the Suyá as pre-pubescent boys. Suyá raids into the tributaries resulted in great destruction and von den Steinen reported a Trumaí village to have been recently burned and looted by them.[14]

The upper Xingú peoples were not always passive towards the Suyá. 648
A revenge attack was once launched by the combined forces of the 721
Kamayurá, Mehinaku, Waurá, and Trumaí. Their flotilla of twenty canoes assaulted and burned a Suyá village, starting another cycle of attacks and counter-attacks. This is the only known case of an intertribal alliance in war, but there have probably been others.

When Quain was with the Trumaí the memory of past attacks was 186
still strong, and the mere mention of the Suyá was sufficient to cause 773
great anxiety. Indicative of their feeling toward the Suyá is the Trumaí creation myth according to which the Sun made all tribes except the Suyá who are descended from snakes.

Among the Kuliseu tribes, the Kamayurá and Nahukwa were the 152
two most feared. The former, especially, by small acts of aggression 181
against the weakened Trumaí, had done great harm. As a result of the 186
widespread hostility and distrust, Trumaí life was pervaded with insecurity. 648
Tension always increased at night, and the slightest sound
from the brush was enough to cause panic. Rumors of an impending
attack were often brought to the village by visitors from other groups. 203
These were generally false stories intended to frighten the Trumaí, but, reflecting the prevailing anxiety, they were always accepted as true.

The Kamayurá were the chief instigators of these tales. One visitor 152
from the latter group told the Trumaí that the Kamayurá were coming 186
to kill all of them as soon as Quain left. The Kamayurá attempted to 203
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[13] Galvão 1952, p. 469.

[14] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 115.

152 frighten Quain, too. One of their favorite stories was that the Nahukwa
186 chief, Aloike, was coming to take Quain. Aloike was a powerful sor-
203 cerer and had a reputation for treachery among all the tribes, and the
648 Nahukwa were probably feared more because of him than because of
any traditional enmity.

Wild tales were also told out of sheer perversity. A party of Kamayurá came to visit and announced that Quain's father would arrive in an airplane with gifts for the Trumaí. On another occasion they said that a plane full of *karahiba* (white men) had landed at the house of Thomas Young, an American missionary who lived further up the Kuliseu.

The Trumaí, themselves, aggravated their own fears. One of them spoke at length in the men's circle on how the Kamayurá tortured their captives by piercing their arms and legs with arrow points. He also said that they beheaded them, stirred up their brains over a fire, and ate them. This was undoubtedly a false story born of fear and contrary to all the more reliable information on the treatment of captives. However, torture and ritual cannibalism of this sort once flourished in the tropical forest. It is, therefore, interesting that the Trumaí should know of such practices.

648 Due to the constant fear of surprise attack shared by all the tribes,
202 it was considered bad policy to enter foreign territory without giving
warning. This was done by building a fire. A party from the village then went out to investigate, unless it was definitely known who the intruders were. If a fire was seen by a traveling party, their canoes were beached and an answering fire was built.

648 Surprise meetings were to be avoided at all costs. When Quain was
186 traveling on the Kuliseu with a Trumaí group, the sight of a Kamayurá
canoe caused some concern. The chief was quite happy to note that
[123] Quain left his rifle in the bottom of the boat, thereby giving a peaceable
appearance.

181 According to Dyott, an English explorer who descended the Xingú
202 in 1938, arrows planted point first in the ground were "no trespassing"
648 signs.[15] He also said that whistling arrows were shot in the air to warn
strangers to stay away. The latter sign was, more accurately, an addi-
[201] tional means of letting one's presence be known. Smoke spirals seen
to the north or east always caused a great disturbance in the Trumaí village, as these were thought to be Suyá fires. Since the upper Xingú people approached from the south, fires seen in this direction caused little alarm unless there had been rumors of some aggressive act by the Kamayurá or Nahukwa.

[152] Fear of attack at times approached the point of hysteria. The high
tension might last a few days, after which it would decline to the normal

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[15] Dyott 1930, pp. 232-34.

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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of 181
rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north. 202

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had 648
retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumai houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, [622]
who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the 648
main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú 562
community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal [152]
of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the [721]
area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, [583]
and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[16] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, [582]
in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or re- 648
gained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably 563
a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were [161]
only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into [583]
the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower [186]
than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted be- [554]
cause of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

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[16] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

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[186] [554] culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent
648 as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in capti-
727 vity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

563 Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men
167 into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapití, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Auetí.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapiti settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapiti have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still
[181] far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

721 The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take
583 loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *uluri* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

727 It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical
[847] strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

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[17] De Lima 1949, p. 26.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

It is also 727

possible that more women may be needed for polygamous marriages, but the data do not indicate plural marriage to be of great significance. [595]

Pillage, also, inspires raids. The Kamayurá threatened to descend 721 on the Trumaí, after Quain left, to rob them of all the Western goods 648 they had obtained. The Suyá took all the Trumaí pots in a raid which occurred immediately before von den Steinen's second trip through the region.[19] The desire for goods is undoubtedly a motivating factor in particular raids, and it may also be a contributing factor in warfare generally, but since the material surplus is low throughout the area and retaliation almost certain, it is doubtful that this is a basic cause.

Insults, too, could provoke aggression. The Kamayurá threatened to chastise the Trumaí because the latter were rumored to have made defamatory remarks about them. Continuous fear and insecurity can also lead a tribe to attack. Quain observed that the Trumaí worked [152] themselves up into such a state of terror that they were capable of desperate deeds. Needless to say, revenge expeditions tended to perpetuate hostility.

Among the Trumaí, no special prestige was derived from warfare, 721 and the men did not boast of their prowess as warriors. Trumaí men 555 showed scars of old wounds to Quain, but only to impress him with the brutality of other tribes. To the Trumaí, warfare was an occasion for fear, and not an opportunity to enhance one's status.

Warfare, however, is important in maintaining social cohesion within 182 the communities. Quain noted that intra-social harmony and coopera- 721 tion was low in the Trumaí village. Leadership was weak, and there was little friendliness between the men. However, when an attack threatened, quarrels were forgotten and aggressions and anxieties were directed toward the outside world. Also, when members of other tribes were in the village, the whole tone and tempo of life changed, and the Trumaí presented a united front.

This was made manifest during a visit of several Kamayurá. Despite 182 their apprehension, the Trumaí treated their guests as long absent 574 brothers. There was much forced and nervous jocularity and talk. The 609 men expressed tremendous affection towards each other and the Kamayurá by embraces and linking of arms. Industry and activity were high. The Trumaí men went to catch fish to feed the guests and, upon returning, marched into the village singing gaily and led by their chief. After the Kamayurá left, the village lapsed with relief into its normal way of life. The men ceased to show affection for their comrades, and old quarrels broke out anew.

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[19] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 144.

Intermarriage

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Despite occasional semi-hostile encounters between the upper Xingú
groups, most contacts within the area are peaceful. Intermarriage is
[591] common, and, since patrilocality is general, the wives are usually
brought back to the village of the groom. There are, however, exceptions
to this rule. For instance, if the man has strong enough kinship
ties with the bride's village, he may stay there. This was true in the
case of a member of the Trumai village who was half Kamayurá.
[167] Friction with one's fellow tribesmen can also lead to a move to another
[598] village, as in the case of a Trumai man and his wife who went to live with
the Kamayurá because they believed that someone in their own group
was practicing witchcraft against them.

602 One result of this mixing process, in addition to its obvious function
648 as a mechanism of diffusion, is that all of the upper Xingú groups are
cross-cut by ties of kinship. Nearly every man on the Kuliseu River
knows all others so located, and they are often related. Most of the
extra-tribal kin ties of the Trumai were with the Kamayurá and Mehinaku,
but they also extended to many other villages of the area. For
reasons not fully explored by Quain, the chief contacts of the Trumai
were with Tupian and Arawakan groups, especially those of the Kuliseu
River. Little mention is found in Quain's notes of the Cariban tribes
of the Kuluene River.

602 Kinship ties were probably responsible for the preference shown by
648 certain Trumai men for particular tribes. While most men said that
the Kamayurá were "bad," a few claimed that they were really "good"
186 and that the other tribes were the ones to be feared. One day a fire was
sighted which, it was decided, had been lit by the Yuruna. A man
having kinsmen among them left the village to tell them of his presence
there and so prevent an attack. The alarm in this instance proved
false.

648 Another basis for preference was past residence with a tribe, even as
186 a captive. However, if there was gossip of an attack by some tribe,
even those most kindly disposed toward the potential enemy would
become nervous and seek out their bows and arrows.

648 There was a great deal of friendly visiting between villages. The host
574 village was expected to provide food for their guests, but if women
were brought, they joined in the women's work of preparing it. In the
afternoon the men traded with each other and engaged in wrestling
[519] contests. At night, singing, shamanism and speech-making were in
order in the men's circle. Tobacco and large quantities of food were
[602] passed around at all times. If the visitors were staying overnight, they
slept in the house of their closest kinsman. The latter was also expected
to greet them upon arrival and act as their host during their stay.

Visits might be made to obtain a bride, engage in trade, participate 648
in some intertribal ceremony, or for a combination of any of these 574
reasons. Most visits were ostensibly of a purely social nature, but they [584]
were also used to frighten and impress. Stealing was frequent, especially
when the host tribe, like the Trumaí, was weak. The Trumaí rarely [685]
protested against thefts while the visitors were still in the village, [152]
although they vehemently expressed their indignation later. Such discretion
was due more to fear than etiquette.

The inferior position of the Trumaí was most evident when visitors
were in the village. The Kamayurá, especially, treated the Trumaí with
arrogance and contempt. At times they would enter the Trumaí village [202]
without having built the customary warning fire. The Trumaí, on the
other hand, did everything possible to please their visitors and prove
their generosity and good will toward them. Quain was berated by the [123]
Trumaí chief for being too niggardly toward the Kamayurá, and he [554]
found that greater respect was accorded to the Kamayurá chief than
to either himself or the Trumaí chief. The Kamayurá felt slighted that
Quain had not visited them instead of the contemptible Trumaí, and,
when Quain went to meet the visiting Kamayurá chief, the latter
turned away with an air of bored indifference.

The Kamayurá chief was immediately given a stool to sit on and was [352]
plied with cigarettes. When he threw one away after a few puffs, he
was promptly given another. Deference was also paid to ordinary
Kamayurá, although to a lesser degree. Once when such a member came
to the Trumaí village alone, the man who received him rushed to
Quain's house to borrow a chair in order to reach some tobacco which
had been placed on a high shelf. He was in a great hurry, for it would
not be good to keep his guest waiting.

This behavior stands in sharp contrast to a visit to the Kamayurá village made by Quain and a party of Trumaí. The chief delegated their reception to his brother. No special attention was paid to them, although the villagers were active and industrious in an apparent effort to impress. The Trumaí were not even asked to sit on the log in the village center.

Due to the extensive intertribal relations, command of a language 648
besides one's own is common in the area generally. But since Trumaí 191
is an independent tongue and the number of Trumaí small, it is probable
that multilingual people were more frequent among them than in
other tribes. Their "second" language was usually Kamayurá, but few
outsiders spoke Trumaí, although more understood it. When Kamayurá
came to visit, conversation was ordinarily in their tongue. Of the three [563]
foreign women in the Trumaí village, only the Suyá woman could speak
even a broken Trumaí. Since the Suyá had no peaceful relations with
the tribes of the headwaters, the Gê language was not widely known
there. The other two foreign women merely understood Trumaí.

Specialization and Trade

439 Among the more distinctive features of upper Xingú culture are
community craft specialization and a widespread system of trade re-
[438] lationships. The Trumaí traded among themselves, but the most im-
portant exchanges took place on the intertribal level, and it is here that
[182] the products of tribal specialization become significant to the economy.
At the time of Quain's investigations, the Arawakans maintained a
[323] monopoly on pottery, but the once active Trumaí stone axe manu-
facture had fallen into disuse. In its place, the Trumaí were specializing
[317] in the preparation of salt, obtained by burning a species of water-lily
and sifting the ashes. The Trumaí depended on the Kamayurá for a
highly prized type of bow, as the proper wood was not found in their
[411] territory. According to Oberg, this black, rectangular bow was eagerly
sought by other tribes, also.[29]

While the Kamayurá monopoly on these bows can be explained by
the local availability of the raw materials, craft specialization cannot
be looked upon simply as a function of the exclusive possession of certain
skills. Other arts diffused rapidly among the tribes, and it is evident
that the specialties remained such for non-economic reasons. For ex-
ample, the three Arawakan tribes, the Mehinaku, Kustenaú and Waurá,
all made pottery, but each traded their wares only with certain tribes.
The Bacairí obtained their pottery from the Kustenaú, who were, in
von den Steinen's time, their neighbors on the Batoví River. On the
Kuliseu, the Nahukwa traded for ceramics with the nearby Mehinaku,
while the Tupian-speaking tribes and the Trumaí relied on the Waurá.
Despite the fact that each Arawakan tribe dealt with its nearest neigh-
bors, the exclusiveness of these relationships is not a physical necessity.
[602] The Trumaí could have obtained Mehinaku pottery. They had many
kinship ties with the Mehinaku, and even conducted joint puberty rites.
[881] The distance between them was not great. Manifestly some standardized
channeling of trade relationships existed.

This is further confirmed by the confinement of pottery manufacture
to the Arawakans. It is probable that when the various groups first
settled in the area, the Arawakans were the only ceramicists. With the
development of close intertribal relationships, however, there was every
opportunity for the craft to diffuse. It could have been learned by
outsiders in trips to Arawakan villages and then practiced at home, as
the clay is easily gotten from the river bottoms. Obvious means for its
diffusion were marriage or capture of Arawakan women. But the manu-
facture of pottery was not observed by Quain in any non-Arawakan
village of the area, despite the fact that Arawakan women were living
[303] in many such communities. In the Trumaí village no pottery was made,

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[29] Oberg 1953, p. 30.

439 although a Mehinaku woman and a Suyá woman who had dwelled among the Waurá were living there.

182 439 The origin of specialization apparently lies in the diversity of the original cultures of the upper Xingú tribes. While a great degree of cultural homogeneity was subsequently attained through interaction and diffusion, certain culturally specialized items became integral to the trade relationships that were a functional part of intertribal social life. Trade became standardized, and monopolies were thereby perpetuated. The Kamayurá-type bow and the Waurá pot were not only essential to the Trumai economy, but trade in these items with these tribes was expected and served to reinforce the structure of the supra-village society.

439 484 [177] In addition to trade in specialized products, there was active exchange of other items of Western and native manufacture, such as feathers, fishhooks, line, cotton yarn, cloth, paper, beads, and trinkets. This, however, did not require organized trading trips, as did the exchange of the specialized products. The Trumai traveled for the specific purpose of trading salt or securing pots and bows, although such transactions were also carried out during ordinary visits and at intertribal ceremonials. The non-specialized items were taken along on all visits in anticipation of a lively afternoon of trading, but they were incidental to such expeditions.

439 437 431 [123] Despite the economic foundation of upper Xingú trade, all exchanges were considered gifts. No aspect of trade was recognized as divorced from personal relations. Food was shared freely in the community and did not enter into trade. Quain was the only person in the Trumai village who traded to obtain food.

439 435 [177] Quain believed that there was a scale of values and a concept of equivalence in trade, as certain proffered articles were rejected by sellers as inadequate. The individual exchanges indicated some equivalence, and there was a tendency for particular categories of goods to be exchanged. Men traded arrows for fishhooks and gourds for small pots. Trinkets also formed a class. However, when dealing in specialized products, payment in another specialty was not required. Western goods were especially desired. Knives and axes were in great demand, and, once given to an Indian by a white man, they entered into active trade circulation. There was sufficient cross-cutting between the classes of articles to suggest the operation of a more comprehensive scale of values, but, unfortunately, Quain had to leave the Trumai before this could be verified.

CHAPTER TWO

TRUMAÍ SUBSISTENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Vital Statistics

162 The population of the Trumaí village in 1938 was 43. This figure includes
the 3 foreign women in residence and excludes those few Trumaí
who were living with other groups. There were 17 men, 16 women, and
10 pre-pubescent children, of whom 8 were male and only 2 were female.
[737] Due to the previously mentioned capture and forced marriage of Trumaí
women, the average age of females seems to have been considerably
greater than that of males. Two men were considered by the Trumaí
[163] as old, while four women were placed in that category. This disparity of
age undoubtedly had an influence on the Trumaí birth rate.

165 Infant mortality seems to have been high, and Quain was of the
849 opinion that it was further aggravated by abortion and infanticide. The
fact that there were eight male children and but two girls suggests that
infanticide must have been practiced only upon females. Quain's notes,
however, give no indication that this was the fact. Pulmonary diseases
164 have devastated all the groups of the upper Xingú, but the drop in the
161 Trumaí population from 43 in 1938 to 25 in 1948 is probably not paralleled
in the other villages during that time.

Village and Gardens

361 The Trumaí settlement was located a scant half-mile from a lagoon
133 that opened directly upon the east shore of the Kuluene just a few miles
away. The mouth of the lagoon was narrow, but it broadened out into
a lake of moderate size with many small bays and was ringed with
[36] swamps. Proximity to the river made insects a continual nuisance during
the rainy season. The Kamayurá village, located near the sandy beaches
of a lagoon lined with *buriti* palms, was relatively free of insects.

361 The village consisted of four houses and another under construction.
Between the houses and the surrounding forest lay an area of weeds
and low underbrush into which refuse was thrown. The ground within
the ring of houses was kept comparatively free of weeds and litter. The
village "plaza" was about 200 feet wide. In the center were the log
[231] bench and fireplace of the men's gathering place. Nearby was a conical
wicker cage in which the village harpy eagle was kept for its feathers,
which were used in ceremonies.

The plaza was the center of Trumai social life. Here guests were entertained, 361
ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men
gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses [564]
and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the
log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumai
village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two
main garden clearings of the Trumai, was another smaller clearing used
during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward
from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piqui* trees. [489]
Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were
much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths
and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds
and trash than that of the Trumai.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those 342
of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were
considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumai in type.
Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four
were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were
haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the
roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was
an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was
covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry
opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own 353
fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were [542]
placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall
posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that [352]
of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their
sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no [594]
internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one 361
mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones 241
were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens
were named Nariatan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and [552]
Tandatake. Nariatan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation,
approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing
the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average
garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had
erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from [343]
the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc [252]
flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc [415]
was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly,
it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village. [423]

361 241 The path which led from the village to Nariatan, the northwestern
[487] garden clearing, passed through the previously mentioned ceremonial
clearing north of the village. A short distance beyond this point, a
branch took off to the east and led to Waniwanitan, the northeastern
and second largest clearing, which contained nine garden plots totaling
approximately five acres. Each garden was tilled by a different man,
but two men had plots in both Nariatan and Waniwanitan. The size
of the average garden was one-half acre. There was no newly cleared
land, and, in contrast to Nariatan which was still yielding, nearly all
of the crop (mostly manioc) had either died or been harvested. Quain
[134] noticed that the soil in Nariatan had a gray tone, whereas that of
Waniwanitan was reddish in hue. This difference in color was due to
the ashes deposited by the more recent burning over of the former site.

241 Nariatan was a newer garden than Waniwanitan, and the former was
planted to a variety of crops while the latter was nearly all in manioc.
This is indicative of the common tropical forest slash and burn system
[242] whereby second year gardens are used only for manioc growing, and new
areas in which the soil is still comparatively rich are used for other
[423] vegetables in addition to manioc. The Trumaí are unique, however, in
that the garden clearing was divided into individually owned plots.
[496] Smaller individual gardens or large gardens cleared and cultivated collectively are the general rule in the rain forests of South America.

361 The three other clearings were small, and each contained one garden
241 plot. One was one-quarter acre in size, while the other two each comprised one-half acre. These small gardens were connected with the village
by separate paths and were closer to it than the two larger clearings.
[103] Anariatan, Nariatan and Waniwanitan were named after old village
sites, but Quain knew of no abandoned locations from which the names
Tan Toreake and Tandatake could have been derived.

Horticultural Techniques

221 It is difficult to assess the relative importance of horticulture, fishing
262 and gathering in the subsistence economy of the Trumaí. At different
times of the year each made the major contribution to the diet. Most
garden products became available at about the middle of the rainy
season, but manioc was dug up when needed throughout the year. Fish
[221] and manioc were staples the year-round, although fishing was poorer
during the rains. Each was more important in the total diet than were
the products of gathering. However, the subsistence of the Trumaí at
certain times of the year, especially in the early part of the rainy season,
would have been seriously threatened without the wild foods.

241 The agricultural cycle started in the early part of the dry season when
[221] the clearings needed for the next rainy season's gardens were made.

The usual procedure was for each man to clear a garden plot adjacent 241 to the others; in this way the two large clearings of Nariatan and Waniwanitan were created. The three isolated small clearings might have been nucleii for future large clearings.

All the trees in the plot to be cleared were felled, and the underbrush was slashed away. This has been done with steel axes since the upper [177] Xingú Indians came in contact with the outside world. Quain noted that much more work must have been involved in clearing the forest when stone axes were used. Even with improved implements, clearing land was the most arduous work done by the Trumaí. Stumps were not uprooted, nor were the fallen trees and shrubs removed. The dead vegetation was allowed to dry, and the plot was burned over just before planting in September. When planting, the Trumaí followed the simple expedient of avoiding burned tree trunks and stumps. One year old garden plots were made ready for replanting simply by pulling out or chopping down weeds.

The heavy work of clearing the land fell to the men. In one case re- [462] ported by Quain, two men from the same household cleared a plot jointly, but in all other instances each garden was cleared by one man.

Permanent rights to land resided in the community as a whole, but 241 gardens were spoken of as belonging to the man who had cleared the 423 land. He also had proprietary rights over the crops, even when he had not planted them himself. Generally, however, such fine points of property were not an issue, as the man who cleared the land usually planted it. Land tenure was a function of use only.

Absolute, permanent ownership of property in land would have had no purpose, as the gardens were temporary and were abandoned when the soil was exhausted after two consecutive plantings.

The planting season began after the first light rains and lasted from 241 about the middle of September to about the second week in October. The first heavy daytime rains arrive at the beginning of October and become more frequent throughout the month. Thus the sowing was done after the earth was moistened, but before the rains arrived in full force.

Quain made note of a variety of food plants growing in the Trumai gardens. These included bitter manioc (*oie*), corn (*xotet*), squash, large beans (*kuman*), small beans (*kumana'i*), sweet potatoes (*mani*), sugar cane (*kanaviya*), a species of pineapple (*wasus ruyau*), and banana trees (*tsi tdatdat*). Among the domesticated non-food plants were tobacco, cotton (*amundyu*), the castor bean (*patasy*), and *urucú*(*maldot*). Quain [249] believed that the castor bean was used for the round hollow point of the [411] whistling arrow, but Oberg says that the Kamayurá make theirs with [114] hollow nuts of the tucúm palm.[1] *Urucú* is a plant bearing a pod, the 000

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[1] Oberg 1953, p. 31.

249 Urucú is a plant bearing a pod, the
386 interior of which yields a red paint used in body painting and the decoration of artifacts.

244 Bitter manioc was by far the most important crop, while maize and sweet potatoes ranked second and third, respectively. Most of the crops
[243] were planted in the same three-to-four-week period, but the gardener usually planted manioc before the other vegetables. For this purpose, holes were dug at six to ten foot intervals wherever space between the charred logs permitted. A short trench was first dug with a hoe, and then, from the opposite side, an adjacent trench was dug. The loose earth from the second trench was piled into the first, in which the manioc was then planted. Each pair of trenches was made with about fifty hoe strokes.

244 Shoots for planting were obtained by cutting sections from the stalks of old manioc plants. About ten shoots were planted in each hole by
242 thrusting them at an angle into the loose earth. The gardener tried to plant the stems deeply so that the developing tubers would receive maximum moisture. Slipshod gardeners, however, often thrust them in lightly and heaped earth around the stems. The shoots were inserted at slightly different angles to minimize the tangle of stems and thus facilitate the harvesting, but all shoots pointed in a general westerly direction. Quain was told that if they were planted otherwise, the wind would break the growing stalks.

243 The procedure for planting maize was somewhat simpler. The gardener brought a large container of seed corn and a jug of water to the area to be planted. He soaked some of the kernels, and then put them in a small gourd which he carried with him. Small holes, three to four inches deep, were dug with a digging stick (*mica*) or knife blade in the open spaces between the manioc holes. Into each hole three or four kernels were dropped. A small pile of the loose earth that had just been dug up remained next to the depression in which the corn was planted. This served to trap the early rains. The digging stick and knife were the only implements used in maize planting, whereas only the hoe was used to plant manioc.

244 Men planted manioc; the women were said by the men to "not know how." Indicative of the importance of manioc, the word for planting
462 refers only to manioc planting. Thus, a man who told Quain that he had finished his planting went to his garden the next day to put in sweet potatoes. Similarly, Quain was told that women do not "plant." He soon
[241] learned, however, that women could plant other crops, but, with the exception of cotton, it was always done under the supervision of the men.

The most active horticultural role of the women was harvesting. The
[148] wife of the gardener went to his plot to dig up manioc and pick vegetables, which she carried back to the village in a basketry container balanced on her head. If the gardener had no wife, the female relative in his household who prepared his food brought in his crop.

Each man planted his garden without male assistance. However, 244 462 when planting vegetables other than manioc, he was often aided by his wife or wives. During the whole Trumaí planting season Quain observed [476] only one instance of cooperative labor in manioc planting. This occurred in the garden of Uluku, a Kamayurá, who had cleared a plot in the Trumaí gardens but had not returned in time to plant it. The work was initiated by the Trumaí chief, as this was an obligation of the village to an outsider. However, the men largely ignored his call and, of those who responded, most were co-residents of the chief.

Fishing Techniques

A variety of fish were caught and eaten by the Trumaí. The exact 226 species were not recorded by Quain, but those in Oberg's partial list are also found in other tributaries of the Amazon.[8] A small fish called *kate* by the Trumaí was caught in great quantities during Quain's visit. Fish figured importantly in the diet throughout the year, but they were not as easily caught during the rainy season when the rivers overflowed into the adjacent forest. Fish were taken by hook and line, bow [227] and arrow, poisoning, traps, nets and weirs.

Shooting with the bow and arrow was the most important single method. The fisherman stood in the bow of his bark canoe with bow and arrow poised while his helper paddled slowly in the stern. When a fish was sighted the arrow usually found its mark with surprising accuracy. Insofar as is known, only hooks and lines obtained from the [177] whites by trade or gift were used. Quain found a great demand for them, and he gave many to the Trumaí and other groups.

Two kinds of poison were used to drug fish in the lagoons. The more important was made from the shredded bark of the *tawasi* tree and was [824] effective only upon the small *kate* fish. The other was made from the ripe fruit of the *fifi'a* tree, the bark of which was used in the washing of the body after ceremonial scarification.[9]

Fish traps were baited and set out in the lagoon. These were basket containers, long and rounded in shape. An open-ended basket cone, through which the fish swam, was set in the mouth. Once inside, the fish could not find their way out through the small end of the cone, which was pointed towards the inside of the trap. According to one informant, the Mehinaku could make fish traps, but not the Trumaí. Quain, however, found that at least three Trumaí men made traps,

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[8] *Ibid.* pp. 25–26.

[9] The exact species of these trees are not known. Oberg (1953, pp. 26–27) refers [824] to the use of *timbó* in a general sense only. *Timbó* commonly refers to the root of a small shrub and not to the above-mentioned drugs. Von den Steinen (1897) makes no reference to fish drugs.

226 although not everyone owned one. Quain also described Trumaí fish nets, but netting must have been a minor technique, as he did not see it practiced during his stay.

[171] Throughout the upper Xingú area it was common practice to construct fish dams across the mouths of lagoons. There were two such fish weirs in the Trumaí lagoon, one near its mouth, the other across a small inlet near the village. Their purpose was to block the fish from escape to the main stream when drugs were placed in the water. They were built by driving upright stakes into the floor of the lagoon, after which a wall of rubbish and branches was built against the fence. One dam was constructed by the village cooperatively, while the other was said to have been built by a single man.

226 423 The Trumai lagoon was considered the property of the community, and the Trumaí maintained exclusive fishing rights in it. The water in the lagoon is clear in comparison to the muddy Kuluene, and the fishing excellent. A good proportion of the fishing was done there, especially when traps and poisons were used, but they also had fishing rights in other lagoons within the territory of abandoned Trumaí villages. In addition, they fished in the Kuluene and Kulisseu and ranged as far afield as the Batovi River.

[576] [201] While most fishing trips were carried out within a day, some lasted two or three days. When the fishermen returned, they were greeted with a conventional shout by all the villagers. The shout was meant to welcome the food rather than the fishermen, and similar cries were heard when well laden gathering parties returned from a short jaunt into the forest.

501 422 226 About one-half of the men owned canoes, and according to Quain's informants, only six did not know how to build them. The bark canoes of the upper Xingú are not difficult to make, and it can be assumed that the community did not need more, inasmuch as fishing parties always consisted of two men. Larger groups went out of the village in a body when many fish were needed for a ceremony or to feed guests, but they usually split into pairs. Cooperative fishing groups of more than two men were needed only for drugging and perhaps for netting. On one *tawasi* fishing expedition over half the males of the village went to the lagoon with bundles of shredded bark. Quain noted that this was one of the few examples of group labor transcending the immediate family.

226 571 Two-man fishing expeditions were composed of the owner or borrower of the canoe and his helper (*tau*). The *tau* generally paddled while the owner fished. Only while serving as a helper was he referred to as the *tau* of that man. Thus, if a person went as the helper of Makurawa, he was referred to as "Makurawatau." He shared in the catch, but whether he received less than the canoe owner is not indicated by the field notes. There seemed to be no fixed standard for the selection of the *tau*, nor

were the teams always the same. Old Matiwana and his son Yati fished 226
together most of the time, as did Aloari and his true brother Tun. Other 571
true brothers often fished together, but, with the exception of the two
above-mentioned steadfast teams, men chose their fishing companions
according to their mutual needs or plans for the day. Since such agreements occurred most often between members of the same household,
co-residents often cooperated. One man, Jakuma, spent much of his
time fishing as the *tau* of different canoe owners or borrowers. He had
no wife, and his garden, which he did not till very diligently, was very
small. His fishing partners included men from every household, who
were related to him in various degrees.

Although the position of *tau* was a temporarily subordinate one, it [558]
caused no loss of status. Even the Trumaí chief, since he owned no
canoe, went fishing as a *tau*. Occasionally men took their wives along, [462]
but fishing was a man's specialty, and the woman's function was restricted to paddling.

Gathering

The two most important food products that the Trumaí gathered 222
were turtle eggs and the fruit of the *piqui* tree, or *tsinon*. Throughout [137]
the dry season, turtle eggs were gathered in great quantity on the
banks and sandbars of the rivers. By September they were no longer
available and, in the following month, *piqui* became the main objective
of the gathering parties. The harvest of this fruit was stored and lasted
nearly to the end of the rainy season. *Piqui* was an important staple,
especially in the period before crops ripened. Most of the *piqui* trees [245]
grow wild, but there is a suggestion in Quain's notes that they might
also have been transplanted when young. All of the *piqui* trees were individually owned, and proprietary rights of individuals to groups of [423]
trees were clearly understood by all. In order to make the fruit ripen
fast, the owner of the trees built a slow-burning fire of grass underneath [242]
them at night. The early rainy season was a rather lean period, so that
there was great joy when the *piqui* was heard falling in the forest.
Everyone broke into shouts of "*kaha kaha kaha-a-a*," which was the [201]
conventional cry for greeting the first *piqui*. These shouts were slightly
different from those welcoming fish brought into the village.

The first fruit was usually gathered by the owner of the trees and his family. However, when the fruit began to fall in great quantity there was a general harvest which was shared without regard for tree ownership.

Piqui gathering started in the middle of October, when the planting 222
season had ended and the men were free to help in the gathering. 462
However, men still fished frequently, and the burden of the gathering
fell on the women and older boys. Women from the same household

222 462 often gathered together, and at times all of the women of a house would work together in *piqui* collecting. Parties of boys and men sometimes picked up the fruit, and a man often went gathering with his wife to protect her from possible enemies, especially if there had been recent threats or omens. He took his bow and arrows, and frequently did not help in carrying the fruit back to the village. The *piqui* was brought to the village in basket containers, and then made into a variety of dishes.

[146] Guava (*warsicaru*) grows wild in the forest, ripening a short time before *piqui* does, but extending into the season of the latter. Quain believed it to be a valuable vitamin C supplement to the diet, but it was a far less important food than *piqui*. Men participated little in guava collecting, although they accompanied their wives for sociability and protection. Quain described these connubial gathering expeditions as being largely pleasant jaunts through the wood. Children often went out for the fruit, which they brought back to the village strung on straws.

222 258 462 The water lily from which salt was made was another important item gathered during the period of Quain's residence among the Trumaí. The water lilies were collected in the Trumaí lagoon, and the complete salt-making process was carried on there. Each Trumaí built a rack over the waters of the lagoon. The lilies were pulled up, spread out on the rack to dry, and later burned. The ashes were sifted to obtain the salt. Quain did not mention any women's salt racks, but the women prepared their own supply of salt, too. Quain saw salt-making only in the early part of September, although it is possible that it occurred prior to this time as well. However, salt was not made after the middle of September, due to the rains and the exigencies of planting.

222 [262] Ants were eaten by the Trumaí, and, according to an informant, by all groups in the area. A little boy demonstrated the correct way to consume them when he joyously brought in a fat one, plucked off its abdomen and swallowed it. Quain was told that later in the season the women and children would go out and collect them in large quantities. [231] [857] Other insects were in heavy demand for feeding the harpy eagle and other pet birds. Crickets were considered especially good for this purpose, and the boys made great sport of shooting these insects with their miniature bows and arrows.

137 222 262 A few other wild foods were eaten, but these were relatively insignificant. Among them was the fruit of the *aua'o* palm. Another fruit called *lamux*, resembling the crabapple in taste and superficial appearance, had a gelatinous interior. An unnamed plant is described by Quain as resembling grass, but having a quality like algae. It was eaten only in times of a manioc shortage. *Kama'a* is a parasitic plant that looks and tastes like the date. The *atoh* is a berry that tastes like the chokecherry.

226 278 476 *Fifi'a* and *tsunai*, the fish poisons, were gathered in the locale. The gathering and preparation of *tsunai* boughs was a cooperative venture.

Older boys and men went into the forest to cut down the trees and bring 226
the boughs back to the village. The men then took turns in pounding the 278
boughs into coarse fiber with the blunt end of an axe. Even men who did 476
not participate in the gathering of the boughs helped in their reduction into fiber.

The group nature of the work is understandable in view of the communal labor and benefits involved in fish poisoning. Once the boughs were reduced, the fibers were cut into sheaves of about two and one-half feet in length. These sheaves were used to poison the water. Interestingly, both bark and wood were pounded up together, although, according to Quain, only the bark is poisonous.

The *buriti* palm supplied two raw materials, *isinke* and *isinke hut'*. 283
Isinke was obtained from the heart of the young spike of the growing 824
tip of the palm. The top was separated to give access to the heart, and long fibers were pulled out, which were then hung in the interior of the house to dry. When dry they resembled a heavy hemp, and were used to make cord. *Isinke hut'* is the leaf of the *buriti*, which was used in basketry.

Hunting

Hunting was not important at any time during Quain's stay. Tapir, 224
peccary, deer, monkey, jaguar, squirrel and paca, a large rodent, are 136
among the animals mentioned by Quain as being found in the vicinity, [262]
but only the monkey and paca were eaten. Birds were also eaten, and
their feathers were used for ornamentation. Terrapin were caught by [225]
hand, either by creeping up on them or by swimming close to them under water and grabbing them by the shell. All other game was shot with the bow and arrow, except for the capybara, called *tsimo* by the Trumaí. Canoeists speared the swimming animals. The spear was used at no other time in hunting or fishing, although the Yaulapiti speared fish.

Quain saw no organized hunting parties. One or two men sometimes set out with the express intention of hunting, but most animals were
shot while on fishing or gathering expeditions. The Trumaí did not rely [262]
on meat, nor did they show a craving for it. Hunting seemed to be more a pastime and sport than a subsistence activity. When Quain
hunted with the Trumaí he noticed that they wanted him to kill birds [123]
more for their feathers than for their meat. They also wanted him to kill several entirely worthless birds because, as two of the men expressed it, they wanted "to see it."

Foods

The horticulture, fishing and gathering economy of the Trumaí gave 262
them a fair variety and adequate quantity of food during most of the year, barring crop failure. The Trumaí, however, had a considerably

267 smaller food stock than did the Kamayurá. Quain found the Trumaí [252] diet nourishing and tasty, and although the methods of cooking were not always appetizing from a European point of view, he notes that "the delightful rounds of foods are endless," and that there were many recipes for their preparation.

262 Manioc processing, from harvest to finished product, was the work of 252 the women. The tubers were dug up when reserves of *beijú*, or manioc [462] cake, ran low, for the supply of manioc flour on hand was always enough for several days, but no more. The first step in the process was to scrape [412] the skin from the tubers. This was done with a clam shell, the rough edges of which had been abraded so as to give a smooth scraping surface. The manioc was then reduced to a wet pulp by rubbing it on a grater made of wood studded with sharp bones. In order to extract the [415] prussic acid from the bitter manioc, the pulp was placed on an open-work sieve, or *tuafi*, which was set on top of a wide-mouthed Waurá pot, and water was washed through it. The mass was then wrung out and rewashed. After several washings, the manioc was squeezed into a lump and dried on a rack in the sun. The flour (*karima*), thus prepared, was used to make the flat manioc cake or was mixed in water to make a gruel. For *beijú*, the sun-dried lumps of flour were pulverized in a large wooden mortar set in the floor and moistened, sometimes with fish juice. It was then placed on a flat clay plate (*ja'meo*) and beaten with a special wooden paddle until flat, after which it was baked. Two kinds of *beijú* were made: a thin and a coarse, thick type. *Beijú* was sometimes eaten plain, but other foods were usually heaped on top.

[263] Manioc was also regularly consumed in the form of a thick gruel prepared by boiling the flour in water. A fibrous fruit known as *iriwa* [264] was often boiled with the manioc gruel and imparted a prune-like taste to the dish. When drinking it, the fruit was chewed, the shells and fiber [251] spat out. The manioc gruel (*ats aek*) was kept in the house in gourds.

Fish were roasted or boiled. Roasting was done by holding the fish directly over the flame, or by wrapping it in a broad palm leaf and placing it on a babricot over the fire. A common dish was a thick stew of boiled fish which was heaped on *beijú*. Fish was also added to stews which contained vegetables in season. Men did all the roasting in the [462] Trumaí village, although it was permissible for a woman to help. However, most foods were prepared by boiling, and the burden of cooking thus fell on the women.

The *piqui* fruit (*tsinón*) was the most versatile food in the village during Quain's period of residence. The most important dish was boiled [251] *piqui* pulp (*ke'jas*), which was placed in containers and stored in the waters of a pool in sufficient quantity to last until the end of the rainy season. *Piqui*, like most fruits, ripens and falls uniformly, making it necessary to gather the harvest all at once, and to prepare and store

it before it rots. The Trumaí worked hard at this, and Quain heard the 262
sounds of women boiling and stirring the *ke'jau* far into the night. Some 252
of the *ke'jau* was placed in gourds for immediate use. It was mixed with
water, making a rich yellow drink, and was frequently stirred into the
manioc gruel, or *ats aek*. *Ke'jau* was considered an excellent food for canoe
trips, and was carried by fishermen and travelers.

The *piquí* fruit when roasted whole "tastes like egg yolk, or, vaguely,
like deviled eggs," Quain wrote. In addition to cooking the pulp of the
fruit, the kernel of the *piquí* pit was used. It was sometimes eaten raw,
but usually it was cooked. The kernel has a fragrant, coconut-like flavor.
A pudding was made by boiling down *piquí* kernels to the consistency
of paste and, to Quain, the flavor was much like that of the caramelized
coconut sauce prepared in Fiji. Another preparation called *t'ak*, which
resembled *beijú*, was made from a flour prepared from *piquí* kernels. Fish
and various other foods were piled on top of the *t'ak* and eaten with it,
or pieces of the cake were broken off and eaten plain.

Maizé, beans, and squash were grown in the Trumaí gardens, but due 262
to the season none of these was eaten during Quain's stay. While
making house inventories he saw small amounts of maize and beans
stored in gourds sealed with tree gum, undoubtedly to be used as seed. [251]
Two varieties of maize were eaten. The more common type was called [243]
zotet; the other was a red species known as *hy kapsik*.

Pineapples and bananas did not figure importantly in the diet.
Although the Trumaí grew sugar cane (*kanaviya*), there is no information [249]
on its use. Sweet potatoes were roasted by the men, but were probably [252]
prepared in other ways also. A paste was made from cotton seeds by [462]
pounding them in a mortar and then boiling the mashed seeds. The
paste was kept in a gourd and eaten by scooping it up with the fingers. [264]

Quain's notes contain little on the preparation of wild foods other than
piquí fruit. Guava were eaten raw, but there is no information on how [252]
the various kinds of palm fruits were prepared.

The abdomen of a large ant called *zokoidomat'ek* was considered a 262
delicacy, and flying ants were popped into the mouth like peanuts. A 136
tremendous green grasshopper with long horns (*tawarero*) was roasted 252
and eaten. A small red tick (*tekwu*) was also consumed, but a fuzzy
caterpillar known as the *ma'yryr* was looked upon with revulsion. The [186]
Trumaí claimed contemptuously that only the Suyá ate them.

It would appear that the Trumaí seldom drank plain water. Instead, 272
beverages such as the manioc or *piquí* drinks were used. A gourdful of
one of these drinks was usually available in the houses, and a supply [271]
was taken on canoe trips. No intoxicating beverages were made, but [273]
Quain was told by a former captive of the Yuruna that the Yuruna
brew "kills you for a day or two, and they stay up all night shouting
and singing." The informant did not approve of its taste or effects.

264 Eating seemed to be casual, and it would be inaccurate to speak of "mealtimes." The time for eating was governed by what one happened to be doing on that day. While a person was in the village, he ate whenever food was offered, which occured frequently. If fishing was in order, the fishermen ate before and after their trip and also took food with them. Quain noticed that people usually ate on arising and, during the planting season, again upon returning from the gardens. Meals, then, were only an intensification of eating, occasioned by the return of people to the village. All the people of a household frequently ate at the same time, but the whole village seldom ate simultaneously. Meals involved little formality, and the Trumaí man often ate in his hammock between naps.

House Building

342 114 Unfortunately, Quain left few detailed drawings of houses or other aspects of material culture, and his descriptions are brief. Most of the data on material culture were gathered from his careful inventory of all the houses in the village. He was probably reserving the detailed documentation for the proposed return trip which he never made.

342 335 The first step in the construction of a house was to sink the two heavy center posts in a deep hole. The ridge pole was then set in place at the top of the center posts by raising it with forked sticks. A few men stood with the sticks at either end of the ridge pole, and each group in turn lifted and set the end on the center posts. A "water shed" (not well described by Quain but undoubtedly a cap of thatch) was placed over the ridge pole. The tops of the center posts were not notched to receive the ridge pole; instead, sticks were lashed on opposite sides of the two [283] center posts to form a fork in which the ridge pole was laid. All joining of the framework in the house was done with bark fiber. Wall posts, about four feet high, were set in the ground so as to form an elliptical floor plan around the center posts.

The next step was to lash on the curved longitudinal poles which join the wall posts to the ridge pole. Horizontal poles were tied across these and across the wall posts to form a frame for the thatch. Additional smaller poles could be added to give a tighter thatch frame. Thatching was sometimes started in one section before the frame had been entirely completed. The grass (*damok*) for thatch was gathered by the housebuilders and brought back tied in bundles.

342 The roof was thatched first, but a section was often left incomplete until the rainy season. Quain was told by Maíbu, the chief, that he would finish thatching his house after the rains began because the grass was longer then. In the case of one house, the thatching of the walls was started when the roof was nearly completed. While one builder

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

PLATE I.

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[P. 32-A]

On the Kuluene River

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

PLATE II

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J

Trumai camping at Karajaja J

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Working Manioc

[P. 32-B]

was working on the roof, the other thatched the wall facing the forest, 342 and the house was subsequently occupied while work was still proceeding on that wall. The wall toward the village was temporarily hung with cloth drapes for privacy, although for purposes of protection from enemies the opposite side was thatched first.

Additional thatch was placed on the house at the beginning of the 342 rainy season. At that time light poles were bound to the frame for greater support. The chief's house began to sag from the weight of the 335 thatch, and braces had to be put under the ridge pole. Two posts, as heavy as the center posts, were crossed just below the ridge pole and bound together. A few men got behind each post and pushed so that the poles would assume a more nearly vertical position and give firmer support to the ridge poles. When this had been accomplished, the bases of the posts were set in holes.

Quain had the opportunity to observe two houses being constructed: 123 his own and a fifth dwelling being built by two Trumaí men. His own 342 small house took one week to build. The work started off with a great 461 burst of effort, and in four hours all the wall posts, center posts and the ridge pole were in place. However, every day thereafter progress became increasingly slower.

House styles and construction were not rigidly conventionalized. 123 The Trumaí helped build a house for the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. 341 Thomas Young, and they thought that Quain, being a *karahiba* (white man), would like one such as the Youngs had designed for themselves. [197] When they were half finished with the frame, Quain realized what was happening, and asked for a haystack house like theirs. The revision was made easily and the result was a hybrid. This, added to the fact that two of the houses in the village were much larger than the other two, indicated a certain flexibility and willingness to imitate. The [192] Kamayurá classified the different posts and poles that went into house [335] building, but the Trumaí had only very broad terms for the corresponding parts.

The heavy work of raising the ridge pole, stepping in braces, and 335 carrying and inserting center posts was done cooperatively. These joint 342 labors, although brief and infrequent, made for a festive occasion and 476 gave rise to laughter and gaiety, an unusual thing among the men. With the exception of operations requiring the combined efforts of more men, the house was built by the males who were to occupy it. Women [462] took no part in the building. Yanahi and Mayuva, who were building a new house, shared the work unequally, Yanahi doing the larger part. They did not always work at the same time, and, when they did, they worked on separate sections of the house.

Quain's house was built cooperatively because he was an outsider, 123 342 and it was the obligation of the whole community to accommodate him. 476 574

123 342 476 574 The situation[1] was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

396 The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

501 [177] There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Aloari, Quain's cook and helper. Aloari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumai to own two canoes.

Basketry

285 [462] The Trumai men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumai were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark strips. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuafi*, was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. [462] [291] The women also made a bark cloth bag known as the *tdesnit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trumai. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

286 462 All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

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[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 222-23.

[1] [i.e. building Quain's house--Analyst]

The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were 286
usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were 467
generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton [301]
were arm and leg bands.

Ceramics

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered 323
a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, 439
manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were ob- 415
tained in trade with the Arawakan Waurá, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'meo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

Wood Manufactures

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's 322
visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically 352
carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's 412
notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the
one depicted by von den Steinen.[8] Other wood products were canoe [462]
paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used
by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. 411
The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the [439]
bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the
patacy. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end [283]
of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the
shaft with a tree resin (*awalitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with
cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. [237]
One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used
for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point
out of a piece of metal.

Spears were not used often, although the Trumaí made them. Quain [237]
saw a spear point being made of the shin bone of a tapir. The spear-
thrower (*xopep*) was used only in the annual spear-throwing contest. [526]
It was made from the wood of a palm. Quain sketched one that had a
flat handle with a finger hole and a shaft with a hook on the end, and
another that lacked the hook, but had a thong on the end.

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

411 The Trumaí made no war clubs at the time of Quain's investigation, although von den Steinen stated that the Trumaí and the Suyá were the only groups of the region to have clubs.[8] The only war club in the village was a long, fluted one of wood that the Waurá had captured from the Suyá and had subsequently given to one of the Trumaí men. It was only used ceremonially.

Firemaking

372 Fires were kindled by use of a simple, hand-twirled fire drill. Generation of a new fire was not often necessary as there was almost always an [313] active fire in the village from which a flame could be taken. Gathering [462] firewood was woman's work.

Ornaments and Body Decoration

291 [301] Except for ornaments, men and women were completely nude. The women wore a cord belt that passed around the body just above the buttocks. Some of the women still had what Quain called a "fig leaf," probably a piece of leaf or bark, strung on a cord passing between the buttocks. It was known as the *tdesnit*, the Trumaí term for the *uluri*, the common upper Xingú version of which they did not use.

302 Except for occasional body painting, the women indulged in little ornamentation. They were plucked of all body hair, but in contrast to the shorter tonsure of the males, they let their hair grow over their shoulders.

291 361 The men wore belts of cotton thread or bark fiber, but did not tie their penes. Occasionally flat shell beads were strung around the waist, but more often they were used in necklaces. Necklaces, which were worn in ceremonies, were made by stringing flat rectangular shells on cotton thread. The shells were strung only on the front half of the necklace. Quain noted one type that had two black panels on each end of the [439] necklace. Shell necklaces were an important commodity in intertribal trade, as has already been indicated. Cotton or bark fiber bands were tied around the ankles, just below the knees, and around the biceps.

301 237 287 Featherwork ornaments were worn ceremonially and included headdresses, ear pendants, and feather necklaces. Quain noted one pendant made from the whole breast of a bird. The breast had four colored bands: black, yellow, red, and again yellow, from top to bottom. Another feather pendant consisted of black, red, and yellow feathers arranged [314] in bands and attached to a short piece of wood. A black tree resin held the feathers firmly in place. The feathers were obtained from the tips of parrot wings.

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* 301
fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads 287
with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed
a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton
headnet, was captured in warfare with the Caiabí. A third was a crown
woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There [439]
were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was
lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian 291 301
type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They 439
had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the [797]
missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even 302
with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but
Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping [177]
these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The [412]
scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method [123]
of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite
comb (*kuwau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces
of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small
roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. 302
This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and 386
often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly [249]
used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The
urucú was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat
of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or
spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the
buriti leaf.

Other body paints were *tawariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot,
and a preparation made from *piquí* fruit and fish oil. There was also a
dye, *atdot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which
Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from
the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects. [278]

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight 531
lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard
patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic 302
representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he
said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse
on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of
red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides
and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.

531 302 Black zig-zags on a grayish background were painted on the body of one of the singers. Many designs were undoubtedly conventionalized, but seemingly not according to rigid standards.

All of these designs were observed on men. The women painted themselves much less often, and their patterns were far simpler. Blackened foreheads and black streacks on the thighs were most common. The latter looked as if the women had merely wiped their hands on their thighs after having painted their husbands.

Children also had their bodies painted. Some of the boys blackened their faces or had black dots put on their chests. One little girl had black angles painted on her cheek by her mother. Children's and women's body designs were simple and required little paint. The men reserved most of the paint for themselves.

A husband's painting was often done by his wife, but men frequently adorned themselves or another man, particularly a younger close relative. There may also have been specialized knowledge of certain designs. Only one man was said to be able to make the zig-zag snake pattern, and he painted it on the bodies of others.

Work Patterns

461 512 Accompanying the low degree of specialization and cooperation in production was a lack of rhythm in the work habits of the Trumaí. The day started at about three or four o'clock in the morning. At this time many persons got out of their hammocks to fan their fires and huddle around them, for these were the chilliest hours. The men might get together at this time and talk while the women prepared food. Not much work was done then. At most, a man might add some thatch to his house. [515] By sunrise everyone was awake, and the women went in a body to a nearby arm of the lagoon to bathe and draw containers of water. The men usually went to bathe a little later in pairs or alone. After bathing, everyone ate, and the work day really began.

Those who intended to garden went out early and labored until ten or eleven o'clock, that is, while it was cool and insects were less trouble- [264] some. As a rule, they ate again upon returning and then stayed in the village the rest of the day, working at various crafts as the spirit moved them. Actually a good deal of time was spent loafing and sleeping.

Those who planned to fish started out in the morning, but usually after the gardeners had departed. Unless a two or three day trip was planned, they commonly returned by four o'clock, and always before dark. [258] Occasionally a group of men and women went to the lagoon to spend a day or two making salt.

One of the striking features of Trumaí economic activity was the number of different tasks done by various people on the same day.

Agendas were ordinarily based on the immediate needs of the house- 461
hold or the desire for some variety in their diet. Food, however, was 512
shared widely, and this probably robbed most work of any sense of [261]
urgency. Apparently, each man's plans for the day were determined in
part by the season, in part by the household needs, and in part by what
he felt like doing.

Some men stayed in the village all day, sleeping and working intermittently at small tasks. The women spent more time in the village
than the men. Their work was done in the house or, if outside, in the
shade of the house. Since male work was done largely in the morning,
most of the men had ample time in the afternoon for trade, wrestling, [517]
and other diversions. The trade game was an especially popular indoor
activity on rainy days.

Much less work was probably done during the rainy season, for planting would be finished, the *piqui* would be harvested, and the heavy
rains would confine people to the village. However, there was much less
seasonal variation for the women, as they had to continue to make [462]
beijú, weave, cook, and care for their households — the ordinary female
chores, whatever the month. 105

Trumaí economic life was loosely organized. Few types of labor 433
transcended the nuclear family, which was the basic unit of economic [594]
cooperation and interdependence. The inventory of material culture
was sparse, and workmanship was not highly developed. What the [439]
Trumaí did not make, they could obtain by trade. From the standpoint
of technology, the Trumaí were more backward than other tribes in the
upper Xingú area, perhaps a reflection of their more recent settlement
in the region.

CHAPTER THREE

TRUMAÍ SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Property Ownership

105 Trumai society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification
[556] based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and
[626] cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization
[433] of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political
[621] unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumai culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the
421 community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any individual
willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but
423 only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle
was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property
in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piqui* trees were said to
be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only
over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property
423 and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged
[226] to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no individual
ownership of fishing sites.

422 There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they
[262] were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc
out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man
who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men
[462] grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked
it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed
in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was
[263] the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men
[439] and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was
an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family.
[285] Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves
[415] and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his
wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned
by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was
423 given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied
by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The
house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered. 423

To the Trumaí, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The combs, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft. 422 [415]

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation. [841]

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand." 181 425 [193]

The Trumaí were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed. 123 181 425 [454] [556]

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumaí were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim 431 602

431 on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son
602 and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared,
[261] and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object.
These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

424 Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and
428 gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions
of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the
533 office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc)
[768] ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed
later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatain, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced,
[582] Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the
songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

613 In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

437 The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community
517 distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social
524 participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such
it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kawirxo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kawirxo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one
[574] of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there
are visitors in the village."

These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the 437
ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in 517
response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a
desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for 524
barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumaí. When members of other groups [431]
were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumaí village gift-giving and not trade was the usual 425
form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might 437
trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's 602
brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always 524
a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was 562
due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation 524
generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did
not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. 437
Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his [123]
cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was
given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with [439]
Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumaí attitude towards property, in 421
that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form
of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was 437
watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries 524
and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and 527
forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

421 It was
437 significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the
524 village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the
[156] games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

[527] This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was
[177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

171
526 Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a
622 sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units,
613 but these nucleii of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through
[591] male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in
[165] the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household.
594 Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific func-
592 tions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal
182 dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

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[1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence
[177] among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207.

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

mitigated by intra-household sharing and the performance of services, 589
normally done by mates, by co-resident relatives of the opposite sex. 592
In this way unmarried persons could be integrated within the Trumaí 182
economy.

Among the twenty-eight persons of marriage age in the Trumaí 162
village, there were only eight unions involving seventeen persons. The 589
eleven unmarried included one widower with a young child, one divorced man with a child, three widows with children, four unmarried men, and two unmarried women.

One of the widows was married during Quain's sojourn, but the other [587]
two were considered too old. One of the unmarried women subsequently took a mate, but the other, who had a clubfoot, was thought to be too [837]
old and ugly for marriage, although several men had sexual relations with her. Two of the unmarried men were probably also considered too [734]
old for marriage, a third was seeking a wife, and the fourth showed little interest in obtaining one. Neither the widower nor the divorced man were seeking wives at the time.

All these persons had made some sort of adjustment through their 182
relatives. The incorporation of two of the unmarried men and of one 592
of the widows into Nitvary's household shows how a functional interdependence within the household was achieved, despite the lack of a 589
lineage in residence. Living at one end of the house were two old unmarried men, Yahu and Yakuma. At the other end were Nitvary, his wife Kaiti, his widowed mother Fayeru, and his young sister Kayaya. Gift-giving and food-sharing went on between all of the people in the house, but the two single men depended most on Fayeru, whom they called "sister," while Nitvary's needs were provided for by his wife. The members of the household were all dependent on each other, as Kaiti alone would have been hard pressed to do woman's work for two more men. Their presence, however, meant more food for the house.

In Aloari's house his unmarried brother Tun provided food for the cooking pots of Aloari's wife Yumunuwa, while her brother Oirupa exchanged services with his classificatory sister Yawala, the club-footed woman. By this free flow of food and service, which was especially marked between the sexes, each individual was economically fully functional, and everyone in the household was adequately cared for.

Most of the arguments in the village occurred between members of 578
different houses. Aloari, his brother, and his brother-in-law showed considerable personal antipathy toward Maibu and jealousy of his status as chief. When a serious conflict broke out in the village over a marriage, it took the form of verbal quarrels between members of different houses.

The greater amity between co-residents was due to a number of 592
factors. First, closer kinship ties usually prevailed, second, people on 578

592 friendly terms tended to join in forming a household, and third, it was
578 probably considered desirable to suppress ill feeling within the house.

The unfriendliness between Maibu and the men of Aloari's family
571 existed side by side with close gift-giving obligations between their two
578 houses. According to Aloari's brother Oirupa, he *pans* (gives) to all the
592 people of his own house and also to all the people of Maibu's house.
Residence was the crucial factor, for when Yanahi and Mayuva moved
from his house, Oirupa no longer gave to them. Similarly, the two
other houses had close gift-giving ties. The women united according to
this house division when an attack was thought imminent.

Insofar as can be ascertained from Quain's genealogical data, there
114 were no special kin bonds between the households of Maibu and Aloari,
592 on one hand, and Jakwanari and Nitvary, on the other, to explain this
602 moiety-like division. But it is of interest that the houses of both Maibu
and Aloari were the large type of domicile, like those of the Kamayurá,
whereas the other pair of houses were the smaller "true" Trumaí type.
It is possible that the residents of one pair of houses, perhaps the
smaller, were the descendants of inhabitants of the southern village.

The Nuclear Family

594 Despite the importance of the household and the bilateral consanguineal group, the nuclear family, consisting of man, wife, and children, was still the basic unit of Trumaí society and economy. The biological family could provide nearly all the necessities of life within the previously outlined framework of individualized production and division of labor between the sexes.

The responsibilities of child-rearing fell largely on the nuclear family. The Trumaí showed a fondness for children, and it was not unusual for other adults in the house to play with them and watch over them; but the chief attention came from the parents, and the dependence of the young upon the father and mother was stronger than upon the rest of the household.

The conjugal group had its own hearth near which its hammocks were
[513] strung. Very young children slept with the mother or, if motherless,
with the father. Couples were companionable and spent much of their
593 leisure time with each other. It was common for a man and wife to sit
in the shade of their house in the afternoon while he made arrows and
she worked on a hammock. At other times the couple would go on a short
[832] gathering trip, or just idle around the house. Embraces or mild sex play
often occurred in public between younger mates.

593 Some unions were closer than others. Aloari and his wife Yumunuwa
156 spent more time together and showed more affection than did other
couples. They were both young; he was virile and aggressive, and she

156

was one of the most attractive women in the village. Their marital life, however, was not always smooth. She was unusually possessive, and he was said to have thrashed her severely once for infidelity. Also, he felt some resentment for the infanticides she had committed at the birth of two of their children. 593 [837] [847]

Aloari, his wife, and his brother Tun were not typical of the Trumaí. In addition to the closeness of Aloari's marriage there was a strong attachment between the two brothers. None of the three participated fully in the community social life. The small in-group formed by the family probably had much to do with the strength of the marriage.

The usual cause of quarrels was adultery. Wives generally obeyed their husbands, but since each had his or her own clearly understood duties to perform, it was seldom necessary for a husband to exert authority. The women, however, did influence their husbands to some extent. Quain was told by a few men that they would not be able to go to the Indian post with him because their wives wanted them to stay at home. 593 [837]

All but one Trumaí marriage was monogamous. The plural union consisted of Jakwanari and two sisters. A number of men wanted second wives, and Aloari told Quain of a plan to go to the Suyá to capture women. Judging from the Trumaí's fear of the Suyá, this was probably sheer bravado. Several attempts were made by some of the men, however, to take one of the two eligible village women as a second wife. These efforts were all balked by the first wife, who ultimately decided whether her husband might have a second wife and, if so, who it would be. Yumunuwa flatly refused to allow Aloari to take her own sister as a wife. Kuyafi had been Nitvary's second bride for only two days, when his first wife drove her from the house in a fit of temper. Wives were obviously jealous of their monogamous position, but if a second wife was suitable, she might be allowed to stay. 595 [583]

Jakwanari's two wives got along well, but the second, Kamiha, accepted a decidedly subordinate role. Jakwanari's closest relationship was with Tsuku, the first wife, who also owned all the family utensils. On one occasion Kamiha had a quarrel with one of the men. She quickly retired from the fray when he called her a "second Tsuku." Jakwanari's hammock hung across those of his wives, but nothing is known of their sexual relations.

Quain was told that in polygamous marriages it was preferable to take two sisters. However, even a sister might not be accepted by the first wife, as Aloari's situation shows, although a man had sexual rights over his wife's sister as long as she remained unmarried. One man beat his wife's sister for refusing him sexual favors, and his action was approved by the other men. Women, however, were jealous of their husbands, and did not approve of these or any other extra-marital connections. 595 837

Divorce and Adultery

595 The polygynous unions were extremely brittle. In two cases observed
586 by Quain, they lasted only a few days. In both instances the first wife
was responsible for the break-up. The bonds of the second marriage of a
[837] plural mating were loose, for Jakwanari's second wife had sexual relations
with several Trumaí men with apparent impunity. Such behavior
would have been dealt with severely by a husband had his first wife
586 been involved. Divorces also occurred in monogamous marriages; they
entailed little more than telling the wife to leave. After the birth of
their son, Oirupa sent his Mehinaku wife back to her village and kept
the child. The right of the father's village over the children seems to have
been general in the area, for Autu had a son by a Waurá husband,
whom the Waurá refused to give to the Trumaí.

684 There is no recorded instance of adultery precipitating a divorce,
[586] although this probably occurred. However, the usual procedure was for
the injured husband to beat his wife and make a lengthy and heated
speech against the offending suitor. The wife of an adulterous husband
[578] showed anger toward his paramour and did not speak to her. Hair
pulling resulted in some cases. The husband's behavior was viewed as
reprehensible by the wife, but she took no action against him. One
wife even chuckled a bit over her husband's adventures, although
jealousy is the more usual response.

837 Due to the threat of punishment, the married women engaged far less
in extra-marital relations than did their husbands. Both married and
unmarried men sought out unattached women, but instances of married
men in such liaisons were less numerous. The younger married men and
Maibu, the chief, seemed to have been the chief offenders. The latter
[582] complained to Quain that all the women in the village were prohibited
to him, as they were his wife's cross-cousins. Neither his genealogy nor
his activities bore him out, and he often approached the single women
and Jakwanari's second wife when the other men were out of the village.
Everyone conceded that, although Maibu's wife had not reached menopause,
she was "too old." Thus they rationalized his escapades.

105 The instability of the nuclear family and the vicissitudes to which it
571 was exposed were alleviated by household and kin distribution and by
594 the interdependence of co-resident relatives of the opposite sex for
591 sexually specialized goods and services. These arrangements made
possible the economic workability of Trumaí culture. The conjugal
family was basic to the culture, however, and marriage was highly
[836] desirable to the Trumaí. Despite the shortage of available women and
[578] the conflicts which stemmed from it, sex relations between unmarried
persons were free and easy and subject to little or no public censure,
000 except insofar as they encroached on the interests of others. Incest

PLATE III

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142
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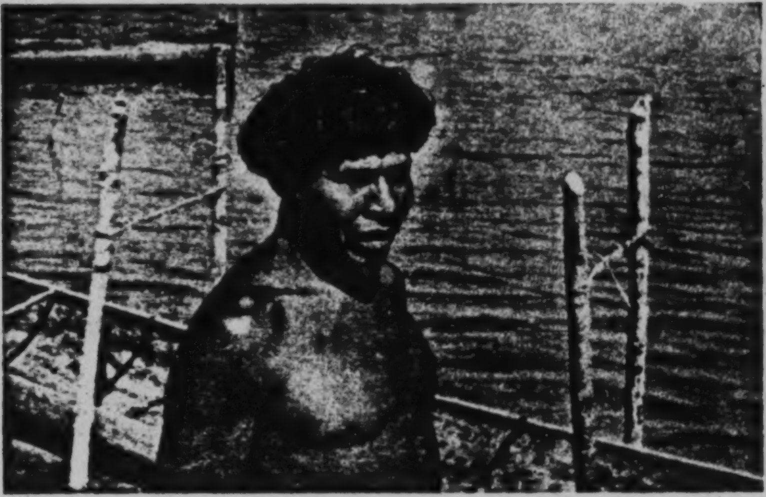

Aloari

291
301
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[563]
→

Yanahi

Kokumu, Suyá Woman

[p. 48 A]

PLATE IV

142
302

Yawala

142
302
352
301

Mother and Child in Hammock

[P. 48 B]

Incest 835

taboos and permissible marriages were a part of kinship-determined 582
behavior and will be treated below. 602

Kinship Terminology

Everyone within the Trumaí village classified everyone else by a 601
term of relationship. Since the community was small, most of these designations expressed a demonstrable bond of consanguinity or affinity, although even outsiders were placed within the kinship system. This was done by establishing a kin tie with one Trumaí, whereupon the rest of the village could automatically place the outsider in the proper context.

Much of the data on the kinship system is uncertain for a number of 601
reasons. The high death rate of the Trumaí, their lack of interest in 178
tracing genealogies, and, most important, a taboo on the names of the 114
dead made the recounting of family lines difficult. Moreover, there is some indication that the Trumaí system was changing rapidly. Many descriptive categories for classifying collateral kinsmen were falling into disuse and being replaced by classificatory terms. The result is an extreme looseness of nomenclature, as can be seen from the accompanying list of terms collected by three ethnologists.[3]

601
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Term	Quain	Oberg[4]	Wagley[5]
Ego's generation			
sibling	apizi*		
younger brother	takwai (v) opat (r)	aheát* (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-heát* (m. sp.) ha-pisí (w. sp.)
older brother		apisí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisí (m. or w. sp.)
sister	hatdiflo		ha-duflo (m. sp.)
younger sister	te'yj	tain (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-takwaí (w.sp.)
older sister		apisí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisí (w. sp.)

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[3] The three lists of Trumaí kinship terms are listed below, since they, in a sense, complete and correct one another. Quain's list is admittedly incomplete and contains several errors. Wagley's terms likewise are incomplete and based on short interviews with informents during his brief stay among the Trumaí. Oberg says nothing about his Trumaí informants, and neither Oberg nor Wagley collected referential terms. The divergencies, then, may reflect misunderstandings on the part of the ethnologists or informants, or they may actually reflect changes that are taking place in Trumaí society.

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 119.

[5] Wagley, personal communication.

* The prefix "ha" (Wagley and Quain) or "a" (Oberg and Quain) is the Trumaí first person possessive.

601
114

Term	Quain	Oberg	Wagley
mother's brother's son	mipine	hamepiné (m. or w. sp.)	ha-mipiné (m. or w. sp.)
mother's brother's daughter	"	"	"
father's sister's son	"	"	"
father's sister's daughter	"	"	"
mother's sister's son		adif (m. sp.) apisí (w. sp.)	
mother's sister's daughter		adiflé (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-dufle (m. sp.)
father's brother's son	hapine (v)	adif (m. sp.) apisí (w. sp.)	
father's brother's daughter		adiflé (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-dufle (m. sp.)
First Ascending Generation			
father	apapa (v) a'ao (r)	apapá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-papa (m. or w. sp.)
mother	atsive (v) ale (r)	atsivá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-tsive (m. or w. sp.)
father's brother	tatek (v)	ataték (m. or w. sp.)	ha-taték (m. or w. sp.) ha-papa
father's sister	akato	akotó (m. or w. sp.)	ha-katé (m. or w. sp.)
mother's brother	wawe (v)	wawé (m. or w. sp.)	wawé (m. or w. sp.)
mother's sister	koko	kokó (m. or w.sp.)	koko (m. or w.sp.)
First Descending Generation			
son	faxlo	awalók (m. sp.) awakék (w. sp.)	ha-paš (m. sp.)
daughter	faxlo	yawaithó (m. or w. sp.)	ha-faxlo
brother's son	faxlo takwai (m. sp.) waremo (v., m. sp.) tacnam (r., m. sp.) adjuš (w. sp.)	waremó (m. sp.) kamlék (w. sp.)	
brother's daughter	faxlo ta'yj (m. sp.) adjuš (w. sp.)	táuí (m. sp.) ayús (w. sp.)	
sister's son	faxlo takwai (w. sp.)	detá (m. sp.) takwaipáš (w.sp.)	deta (m. sp.)

601
114

Term	Quain	Oberg	Wagley
sister's daughter	deta (v., m. sp.) fazlo ta'yj (m. or w. sp.) tatdicnam (w. sp.)	adák (m. sp.) ta'ai (w. sp.)	ha-dak (m. sp.)
Second Ascending Generation			
father's father	adjei (v) adjen (r)	ayeí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-doho (m. sp.) ha-yei (w. sp.)
mother's father	adjei (v) adjen (r)	ayeí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-doho (m. sp.) ha-yei (w. sp.)
father's mother	atsets (v) alen (r)	atsetá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-doho
mother's mother	atsets (v) alen (r)	atsetá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-doho
Second Descending Generation			
son's son	hadoxo	adohó	ha-doho
son's daughter	"	"	"
daughter's son	"	"	"
daughter's daughter	"	"	"
Affinals			
husband	ece	tekañ	ha-ehó
wife	hatdetsi	adetsí	ha-detsi
brother's wife		adifletsi (m. sp.)	
sister's husband		ashlá (m. sp.)	ha-ehla (m. sp.)
wife's brother		ashlá	ha-talak

Incest Restrictions

The Trumaí had no rules of group or locality exogamy. Permissible and prohibited sexual or marital relationships were a function of certain kinship ties only. The most acceptable marriage union was between cross-cousins. According to one informant, true cross-cousins should not marry, but Quain's genealogies present a number of cases in which first cousins related through sibling parents of unlike sex have done so. It is doubtful whether these represented violations of a rule, for there was one instance of such cross-cousins, when they were very young children, being pledged in marriage by their parents. Parallel cousins were not acceptable mates, nor were their children or the children of siblings. 582

582
[186] Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted
marriage with a sister's daughter.[6]

582 Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the
595 Trumai and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his
837 wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable
acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the
587 marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is
expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed
[462] many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although
their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him *ece*
(husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However,
Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no
marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not
[837] include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It
was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations
with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

582 Marriage between people of different generations, especially between
684 older women and younger men, was frequent: but the rules governing
such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to
835 marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man
did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the
village was little affected.

Joking Relations

582 Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but
602 they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially
831 approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between
these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with
each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women.
Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and
ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various
men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her
back and went through the motions of coitus.

602 Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and
605 good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-
831 cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing
after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made
great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house.
123 On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to
602 several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out
831 laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

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[6] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

123

only *ami tarajau*. *Ami tarajau* also took the form of mock name-call- 602
ing contests between men. 831

The Trumai found great amusement in minor accidents that befell 522
others and in humorous gossip, without regard to kinship. Jokes played by 602
one person on another, however, usually occurred between cross-cousins. 605

Avoidance and Respect

Taboos on the names or persons of affinal relatives were observed by 551
the Trumai, because, as they said, they felt *valiy* (ashamed) toward
them. The strongest prohibited a man from speaking the name of his 606
parents-in-law or being in their presence. Thus, a man would not enter
a house in which his father-in-law was visiting or join the men's circle
if he were there. Parents-in-law were the only affinals whose persons
were avoided, and this was most strictly observed between a man and
his father-in-law. Due to the short life span, social intercourse was little
interrupted by this practice; only one father-in-law and two mothers-in-
law lived in the Trumai village. However, they figured importantly in
marital troubles, since parents always took the part of their own off-
spring in a conflict between mates. Aloari felt bitter about his dead
mother-in-law, because she had helped his wife to kill their first two 847
children at birth. The avoidance of a father-in-law's name was so strict
that a Trumai man could not mention his own son's second name, be-
cause it was inherited from his wife's father.

Name avoidance was also invoked to some degree with respect to the 551
second ascending generation of affinals. A wife's grandparents could be 602
referred to by name, but only in a whisper, while no such inhibitions 603
were observed when addressing the wife herself by the name.[7]

The Trumai were ashamed toward the wife's brother and the sister's 551
husband. This was expressed by name avoidance and a respect relation.
If there were children, a man could avoid the use of his brother-in-law's 607
name by calling him *deta a'o* (sister's son's father) in the case of a
sister's husband, or *apat'awe* (child's mother's brother), if he was the
wife's brother. Respect was shown by offering the affinal a chair or by
other small courtesies or gift-giving. Since an affinal of the same gen- 551
eration was often a cross-cousin, the joking and respect relationships 605
overlapped rather curiously. While Yati and his cross-cousin and brother- 607
in-law Mayuva played pranks on or feigned anger at one another, they
showed great mutual deference at other times. Immediately after Yati
told Quain to throw Mayuva out of his house, Mayuva rolled a cigarette
for Yati and lit it for him. Manifestly, the two prescribed patterns
caused no conflict.

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[7] This probably illustrates some overlapping between name avoidance and the taboo on speaking the name of a dead person.

551 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-
605 cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal con-
607 nections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian.
522 Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child.
[861] On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon
[431] the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they
were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent
and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing
and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of
the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and
Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began
to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately
stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die,
I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty.
Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the
absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he
supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and
[437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son.
[171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited
another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older
man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo
[835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs,
624 Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that
Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any
[888] chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high
status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man.
Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of
chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's
advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither
man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's
circle than others.

622 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out
those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community
537 as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening 622
men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their 537
gardens or urging all to gather *piqui* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course.

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their 622
own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself.

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by 622
Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common- 476
agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited.

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and 622
close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him 592
in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their 554
individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly
weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him,
despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given [123]
gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the [574]
meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of [609]
such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a
whole, and no other man would do women's work.

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu 622
has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience 554
comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'"
The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular
headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was [756]
possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only
act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by [755]
sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult
Trumaí male.

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

622 outright rebellion. Despite a great deal of grumbling and non-compli-
554 ance, they still tacitly recognized Maibu as chief.

One of Maibu's main prerogatives was his talking function. He alone
622 had the role of exhorter of the people. Other men would be "ashamed,"
554 he said, to speak so. Most of Maibu's speeches were delivered at night
in the men's circle or before work started in the morning. The attitude
537 of his audience ranged from interest to bored indifference and outright ridicule. One morning Maibu lay in his hammock and shouted for everyone to go out to gather fruit. The initial response to this was a shout from some of the houses, telling him to be quiet. Later some people drifted out of the village carrying baskets, and still later others followed, grumbling that they were being driven from the village. This was a common complaint. Because of the tone in which it was said, Quain thought at first that they were actually being exiled.

622 The chief had no symbols of office outside of the above prerogatives;
554 yet a deference of sorts was shown him. When Maibu entered the men's
circle or Quain's house, someone always got up to give him a seat.
[296] Tobacco was usually supplied him, and the donor would roll the cigarette
and light it before making the presentation. Even the men who told Quain that Maibu was not a "real chief" made these gifts. Maibu himself did not hesitate to send someone across the village through the rain to fetch something. These favors were usually performed by his kinsmen and co-residents, although occasionally more distant persons obliged.
[431] On the other hand, Maibu was expected to be generous towards all the
[422] other Trumaí. Nearly everything that Quain gave him passed to other
hands. Maibu did not even have a bow of his own.

622 Maibu's poverty was attributable in part to his heavy gift obligations and in part to the fact that he had no garden. He said to Quain that he did not plant because he was a chief. However, he was not completely a non-producer. He went fishing, joined in collective labor, and helped his wife in gathering. At none of these tasks did he occupy himself strenuously. The only articles that he manufactured were arrows and spears. He thus made no trade commodities, relying on others, principally his co-residents, for all his artifacts and food. On most days he did little except talk, sleep, and philander with the unmarried women.

Inheritance of the chieftaincy was nominally patrilineal. Maibu, however, was the son of the daughter of the Trumaí chief whom von den Steinen had met, indicating that the office can pass matrilineally if there are no male heirs available. (Maibu's brother's son, Jawaku, adopted by Maibu through the levirate, was to have been the next Trumaí chief.) But the Trumaí chief reported by Galvão nine years later was Aloari, who was only a distant relative of Maibu.[8] What happened in the years between 1938 and 1947 is not known, but it is apparent that

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[8] This information was received verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão.

Aloari took over the post of *aek* by dint of personality and not by 622
regular succession. Even if Jawaku had died, Aloari would not have been
a logical heir. Manifestly, patrilineality was very fluid.

Conflict

In cases of interpersonal strife in the village, there was no mediator. 578
The chief usually dissociated himself from these arguments and let the 622
litigants shout it out. Maibu, described by Quain as a happy extrovert 626
and a secure person, was involved in few personal quarrels. He did have
occasional difficulties in discharging his office. For instance, Tun and
Aloari refused to help build Quain's house on the grounds that he was [123]
only a *camara*, or person of low status. There then ensued a loud argument
in the village plaza between Aloari and Maibu in which each tried
to shout the other down. The men sat around and watched in bored
amusement. Finally, to break it up, they tried to get Quain to sing.
When Maibu grew weary and retired, Aloari continued to talk, but was
greeted with hoots of derision.

Aloari was continually embroiled with the other villagers. He refused to finish thatching his house for the rainy season because he wanted the community to move to an old village site where there were fewer insects. His protests were to no avail. The village remained where it was.

Protests against the chief or the village as a whole did not often result 622
in open conflict. For the most part, they were expressed by grumbling, 578
non-compliance, and threats to leave. No action except ridicule was [626]
taken against dissidents. Disputes usually took the form of shouted
arguments in the evening men's circle. The closest approximation to
the use of force was a mock wrestling match between the disputants, in [526]
which light slaps and holds were mixed with talk. During one argument,
a club was waved.

Unwarranted use of force was regarded as a serious offense. Quain 123
learned this at first hand after he had been among the Trumaí for two 578
and a half months and had established excellent relations with them. 626
When Autsuki, an adolescent boy, who had been told not to take any
flour from a sack in Quain's house, persisted in doing so, Quain knocked
the flour from his hand. Autsuki left the house, laughing derisively. Instantly,
however, the entire village was astir. The men gathered in the
plaza for a serious discussion. The boy's *wawes* (mother's brothers) came
to Quain's house to demand an explanation, as did the chief. Fortunately,
except for his pride, Autsuki was not hurt, and the matter was allowed
to drop. Maibu, however, seeing that Quain was still annoyed, invited [154]
him to come into the center of the village and make a speech in his
native tongue, the standard Trumaí escape-valve.

626 828 154 On these occasions the men usually unburdened themselves in the village center. Malice was expressed either by a verbal interchange with the opponent or an angry speech. The substance of the latter type of demonstration often was not related to the cause of the dispute or to the speaker's discontent. Manifestly, the function of the harangue was to provide an emotional outlet rather than a forum. Maibu's suggestion that Quain should make a speech in his own language underlines the fact that the externalization of anger was the paramount purpose.

154 626 123 Emotional release could also be found in contrived performances. Quain, feeling depressed one evening, refused to sing when the Trumaí asked him to. However, when Maibu proposed a mock argument, Quain, being a good ethnologist, complied. Facing each other in the village center, the two men hurled epithets and insults at each other at the top of their voices. When Quain was at a loss for something to say, Maibu suggested that he repeat a speech he had made about the theft of his supplies. At the conclusion Quain reported, "I felt very good when I shouted at him for a while, and I was quite willing to sing."

683 692 In cases of physical harm, settlement could be obtained by paying the injured person. Quain was told that after the spear-throwing contest, the Kamayurá and the Trumaí each paid indemnities for bruises inflicted.[9] No case of physical violence was observed by Quain, but when
[123] he slapped the flour from the boy's hand, and again when he stepped on a child's foot, the Trumaí suggested that he pay something. The latter case was an obvious attempt at petty extortion, for a week later the same child had his foot stepped on by a Trumaí, but this time the only result was an admonition from his father to be quiet.

626 754 [186] Still another alternative to violence was found in witchcraft. Only one or two Trumaí knew the practice of sorcery, and these men were said to have learned it from the Nahukwa, who were much feared because of their dangerous skill. Sorcery was usually invoked covertly, but at least once in an argument its use was openly threatened. This, however, was regarded as a most reprehensible action.

578 154 The chief source of conflict in the village was sex. Quarrels over who was to marry the three available women raged throughout Quain's stay. Bride-capture, the large percentage of older women, and polygamy combined to make the allotment of women an extremely sore point. The story of the battle over one woman is worth reporting, as it illustrates both patterned interpersonal relationships and the ways in which anger could be expressed and channeled.

578 584 154 Three men wanted to marry Kuyafi, a widow with a child. They were Oirupa the sorcerer, Mayuva, her sister's husband, and Nitvary. Kuyafi, it was said, had once had a child by Nitvary, so his claim was a strong one. So also was Mayuva's, as he had recognized sexual rights over her

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[9] Cf. Galvão 1950, p. 363.

because she was his sister-in-law. Mayuva, however, was afraid of 578
Nitvary, as the latter had close ties with the Kamayurá and had threaten- 584
ed Mayuva with witchcraft at their hands. After Nitvary returned 154
from a trip to the Kamayurá village, Mayuva complained of severe
headaches and said he was going to die. Although he denied to Quain
that his condition was due to Kamayurá sorcery, the threats against him
apparently had the desired result: a short time later Kuyafi moved into [595]
Nitvary's house. The union last only two days, for Nitvary's jealous
wife drove her out in a fit of anger. The field, it would seem, was clear
for Oirupa, the third suitor.

Oirupa, however, had been trying to marry Kuyafi for years. Her 578
father, Matiwana, refused to give his consent and Oirupa, in revenge, was 584
said to have killed two of Matiwana's children by witchcraft. Relations 754
between their families were understandably strained, and they were
further aggravated by the marriage of Matiwana's son Yati and Oirupa's 154
sister Kerami, which occurred during Quain's stay. This union was
unhappy and short-lived. When Kerami left him, Yati and his father
held Oirupa and his co-resident affinals, Tun and Aloari, responsible.
Yati bitterly asserted that he (and Matiwana) would go to live among
his mother's people, the Kuikuru of the upper Kuluene. There, he said,
women were much easier to get.

With this background of conflict and suspicion, it is not surprising 154
that the quarrel again broke out in earnest when Oirupa tried to seduce 578
Kuyafi. Angered by her rejection he threw *piqui* pits at her. In the 626
afternoon Matiwana spoke out against Oirupa from his house. (This
was proper behavior, since a parent is expected to take his offspring's [593]
part in such disputes.) That evening the two men indulged in the usual
loud shouting and wrestled with barely restrained hostility. Kuyafi
added her bit from the house as did another of Matiwana's daughters.
The other men pretended indifference. Yati remained silent, although
he was vitally interested in the dispute; for, besides being Matiwana's
son, he was involved in an enduring respect relationship with his former
brother-in-law, even after his marriage was dissolved. Public opinion, [208]
however, was on the side of Matiwana, for Oirupa had committed an
offense by hitting Kuyafi with the pits, and he had also threatened to use
witchcraft. To this last Matiwana tauntingly replied that had Oirupa's
witchcraft been really effective, he would have been dead long ago.
As of the time Quain left the Trumai, Kuyafi's future was still undecided.

The Men's Circle

The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in 575
which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not [562]
taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined [784]
the group, and they never participated in any of its activities.

575 the group; and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally
men gathered in the village center during the day. but at night the
circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine
[526] o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches.
Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than
at night.

[521] At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over
a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past
warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found
ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches,
and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for
a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was
[156] also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above,
where grievances were aired.

[626] The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these
gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority
and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the
cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women
had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed
[562] solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain
[578] said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open
group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

554 *Aek*, the Trumai word for chief, also denoted membership in the
565 upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower
178 half of this class were loosely referred to as *camara*, a term which,
622 according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural
Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[10] There was some uncer-
624 tainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of
the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs,
and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary,
its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an
aek, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers
of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's
three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further
supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children
of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camara*.
The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening
of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs.
Today, the *aek-camara* division is non-functional, membership is confused,
and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

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[10] Galvão 1949, p. 40.

[624]

with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* 554
at the time of Quain's visit. 565

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority 622
was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two [178]
sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old
man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead [888]
in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much
Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very
influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the
people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the
chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did
their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, [754]
the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in
importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications [756]
of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody.
Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. 565
Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes 181
gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested 554
an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess
were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done [556]
privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the [831]
general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful
wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were [123]
also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of
medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior
class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was
an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when 888
they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect
Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover,
Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, [123]
most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the
Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions [421]
beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A
favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and [578]
by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. 554
The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, 565
nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in [556]
wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have
more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before
the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority
were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

CHAPTER FOUR

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

182 The lapse of many religious practices and the lessening of interest in
771 those aspects of culture that we classify as religion were striking features
of this dying society. Older informants rememered the time when there
829 were ceremonial masks, the flute house, and other traits that are still
found among certain tribes of the upper Xingú. Indeed, if it were not
for Matiwana's unusual age, the Trumaí would be even more lacking in
ceremonial knowledge. Yet there seems to have been little regret on the
part of either the older or younger generations for this culture loss.
They shrugged it off, saying that their grandfathers had had such
[177] practices, but that they did not. This indifference is not too surprising,
since much of their religion was borrowed from their upper Xingú
neighbors not too long ago.[1]

771 Despite the decline in interest in the ceremonial cycle and the disappearance
105 of certain religious traits, the main outlines of Trumaí
religion were still observable in Quain's time. Shamanism was still
practiced extensively, but it was simple both in form and supporting
ideology. Ceremonialism was related to subsistence and curing. The
shaman's individualized power resulted in a specialization of religious
functions as did the individual ownership of ceremonial songs and
dances. Some Trumaí, like old Matiwana, were better versed in the
[993] religious rites than others, but they did not constitute a priestly class.
While no one person interceded with the supernatural on behalf of the
[182] whole village, the group ceremonials provided a focal point for social
participation and village cooperation, and many of them were undertaken
by the community for the benefit of all.

Shamanism

756 The shamanistic art of curing was known and employed by nearly
[184] all the adult males of the village, and in this sense parallels the practices
recorded among the Kamayurá by Oberg.[2] There is, however, a type

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[1] Kamayurá ceremonial and religious life, much of which was once shared by the Trumaí, is discussed by Oberg (1953) and Galvão (1949, 1950). The extent of Trumaí culture loss can be roughly inferred from these sources and from the work of the earlier ethnologists.

[2] Oberg 1953, p. 60.

756 of specialist among the Trumaí that is not reported for the Kamayurá, and it is to this type that the term "shaman" is applied in the following description. The Trumaí "shaman," in this sense, is a man who possessed extra-visionary powers through which he could locate enemy war parties and "see" the afterworld.

756 114 The source of the visionary shaman's and also the curing shaman's power is revealed nowhere in Quains' notes, nor do we have any information on other aspects of the associated belief system. Oberg's Kamayurá informants told him that personal spirits are acquired during illness, and it is contact with one's spirit which gives the power.[3] This may well be true in Trumaí culture also, but the very fact that Quain did not perceive this, even granting the language barrier, might indicate a decline in the strength of animistic belief.

[756 [787 "Seeing," as Quain translates Trumaí shamanism, took place only at night. (Quain was told that if a shaman inhaled large quantities of tobacco smoke during the day, his temples would pound.) Since one of the main purposes of shamanism was to detect enemies and the fear of attack was greatest at night, it was then that knowledge was felt to be most necessary. Shamanism, it should be stressed, revolved around one of the central themes in Trumaí life, fear of other tribes; the pronouncements of the shaman were almost always that enemies were near and that danger was acute. These were generally believed without question by his audience.

The procedure was simple. When the talk in the men's circle stressed the possibility of a raid, the shaman was called upon to "see." A hushed silence fell over the group. Even Quain was asked to stop speaking and using his typewriter. The shaman turned his back on the assembly, inhaled large amounts of tobacco smoke, his only paraphernalia, and seemed to concentrate deeply. Quain could detect no traces of tobacco narcosis, but it was possible that a mild reaction was produced. After a few minutes of intense concentration, the shaman faced about and announced the results of his activity. This was usually to the effect that he had seen Suyá, or, less often, Bororo, Yuruna, or a tribe of the immediate region. A Trumaí shaman could also find lost articles, but this was secondary to "seeing" the enemy. [775] One shaman claimed to have seen the land of the dead, but there was no suggestion that he had communicated with the deceased.

[756 [562] Only certain older men were visionary shamans. There is no evidence that women were admitted to the practice anywhere in the region. Inheritance of shamanistic power was nominally patrilineal. In 1938 there were three shamans: Yakuma, the chief's oldest biological brother, Aloari's brother Tun, and Matiwana. Tun was the most active practitioner, while Yakuma seldom "saw." Maibu said that the latter was

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

756 still too young to "see," but that when he was older he would learn, since his father was a shaman. Aloari said that he, too, would learn when he was old, as would his son Tsirikoan. Matiwana would instruct Aloari and would receive a payment for this tutelage. Indicative of a possible looseness of inheritance was the fact that Matiwana's son Yati was nowhere mentioned as a prospective shaman.

787 Dreams were considered to be a way of "seeing" while sleeping. This
was known as *ohltaxer*. Dreams were taken seriously, at least by the
dreamer. Aloari fully believed that the Waurá would come after he had
dreamed it. And Maibu was convinced that he should make the trip to
the Indian post on the Paranatinga River because he had dreamed that
Climaco, the agent, liked him very much and would give him a rifle.
[756] However, individual dreams were not a matter of community concern
or interest. Village action was taken on the basis of shamanistic "seeing" only.

Witchcraft

754 The only known sorcerer in the Trumaí village was Oirupa, the
[177] brother-in-law of Aloari. Oirupa was said by one man to have learned
witchcraft (*okei*) from the Nahukwa, who, with the other Cariban tribes,
[156] were dreaded for their black magic. Oirupa's knowledge made him one of
the most hated men in the village, but no action was taken against him
[683] for fear of incurring his enmity. Also, there have been no reports of the
execution of sorcerers in the upper Xingú, and, from all indications, this
[171] mode of retaliation is not customary.

When someone fell ill and witchcraft was suspected, the guilt was
753 usually imputed to a neighboring tribe. It was said that the Trumaí
754 had to leave their old village site near the Kamayurá because the latter
648 were killing them off with witchcraft. Sorcery was probably often
practiced against other groups by the Trumaí, and the converse was
always feared. Oirupa refused to speak above a whisper one night when
the Auetí were said to be using black magic on the Trumaí.

It was Quain's belief that witchcraft was a substitute for open violence
among the people of the area; significantly, witchcraft was not practiced
by the people of the upper Xingú against the Suyá and other hostile
[154] tribes outside the Basin.[4] Intertribal black magic functioned as a check
[626] upon violence within the village as well. Certainly, it was more conducive to social order to attribute sorcery to another tribe than to some
member of the small and already disrupted Trumaí community.

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[4] Cf. Galvão 1949; Oberg 1953.

Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, 753
by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, 754
bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common
symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably [152]
added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the
women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses
than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted.

Trumaí concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they 753
often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be
a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability [761]
be laid to sorcery. The Trumaí knew that epidemics of pulmonary [754]
diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and [123]
they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain
would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain
complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this
eventuality was vigorously discussed.

The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated 753
only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist
around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of 778
contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household
were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari
said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe [515]
from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known
to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, 278
was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various 757
kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in
the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for
medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a
root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied
the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for
ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. 752
This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or [164]
a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular [462]
and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively [759]
for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both
botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. 755
The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jau'kath*, had [171]
much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The
main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great [276]

755 [796] clouds of tobacco smoke were first blown over the affected area by the curer who then, with noisy inhalations, sucked that part of the body in which the ailment appeared to be localized. Insofar as Quain was able to determine, no foreign objects were "extracted," and he was not given any explanation as to why the treatment worked.

757 824 759 [164] [602] Knowledge of curing was widespread among the men. All the men knew how to use botanicals, and over half, all said to have been taught by Matiwana, knew the art of *jau'kath*. Men cured their wives, children, or other close blood relatives. When Aloari was treating his son's ringworm he was asked by Quain whether he would also treat a young boy who was only indirectly related. Aloari refused because the boy had closer kinsmen who could perform this act. Kayaru developed a swollen breast, and it was Yanahi, her sister's son, who performed *jau'kath* on it. All men treated the members of their biological families with medicines, but those who did not know the shamanistic cure relied on a practitioner from outside the immediate family.

602 759 [465] Matiwana treated his son Yati without recompense, but when his daughter's husband became ill, the latter paid him for the cure with a pot. The kinship ties by which curing was free to certain relatives probably corresponded closely to the pattern of gift-giving obligations. Payments for medical treatment were called *okei pop* (medicine gift). Quain was usually given small payments for the many cures he performed for the Trumaí. In no case could it be said that any curer derived a significant income from his services.

Group Curing Ceremony

755 796 [123] The only time that Quain witnessed the group curing ceremony (*kevere*) was on an occasion two weeks after his arrival. He noted the formal aspects carefully, but he was unable to ascertain their meanings, since his command of the language at that time was so meagre.

[562] [123] Maibu's wife, Matavitsa, was sick and wasted when Quain arrived in the village. Her husband had been treating her for some time by the shamanistic means of tobacco smoke and sucking, but with little success. It was decided to hold a ceremonial cure, although shamanistic techniques were not ruled out. Nearly all the adult men of the village gathered in Maibu's house for the ritual, which lasted for three hours. No women were admitted, and the door was kept closed. The *kevere* was strictly prohibited to females, and the men would not even talk of it in their presence. The women seemed to regard Quain's status as doubtful, for Maibu's sister told him that he would die if he entered. He refused to be dissuaded, and upon entering was motioned to a seat.

The men were ranged in a broad semi-circle along the side of the house opposite the sick woman's hammock. Matiwana, who was in charge of

Matiwana, who was in charge of the proceedings, was seated somewhere near the center; Maibu, the 755
husband of the sick woman, at one end of the line. Matiwana was 796
chanting while the others merely shouted words at irregular intervals. Each man held a rattle in one hand and a branch with leaves in the other, except for two who held a branch in each hand. Approaching Matavitsa's hammock in succession, and, with arms extended, each stamped on his heels, causing his rattle and leaves to shake, as he moved up and down the length of the sick woman's body several times. This done, he passed the rattle and leaves from her head to her feet, and then clapped the two objects together so as to suggest that he was brushing off something undesirable. He repeated this sequence two to four times, and before taking his seat, he carefully picked up all the leaves that had fallen to the floor.

While awaiting their turns, the other men rubbed their rattles against their forearms and kept up a steady, disorganized chant. They also smoked, but this apparently was not part of the ceremony.

Turns started at one end of the line and, when the other end was reached, the next series began there. A pause was observed between each series. Some variation was to be noted. One man passed his leaves under Matavitsa's hammock, while another gave special attention to her head. Maibu, during one turn, sucked in the area of her navel.

Quain noted that during the ceremony "there was an amazing lack of affective tension. The men seemed inattentive and disinterested." [124]
He was able to ask questions about the ceremony while it was going on, for not everyone participated. Paradoxically, one of the active performers was Oirupa, who was suspected of having brought about Matavitsa's condition through witchcraft.

The Ole Ceremony

In the Trumai village no ritual was more important or consumed more 796
time than the *ole* (manioc) ceremony.[5] Its purpose was essentially to 243
insure an abundant manioc crop, and much of the symbolism involved was clearly oriented around the concept of fertility. The supernatural techniques that were employed were practiced almost daily from the middle of August to the end of September. (It will be remembered that planting lasted from mid-September until early October.) The whole ceremony was loosely knit. After it started it reached no special climax,

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[5] Oberg (1953, p. 56) describes a Kamayurá ceremony which also takes place [171]
at the beginning of the rainy season and, in form, closely resembles the Trumai *ole* ritual. He calls it, however, the *Kuarúp*, a "special ceremony in commemoration of the dead," and states that the Kamayurá manioc ceremony was not held during his stay in the field. If the ceremonies observed by Quain in the Trumai village and by Oberg among the Kamayurá are not the same, a great similarity of ritual forms for different religious purposes is indicated.

796 but continued at the same pace for about three weeks, and then slowly died
243 down. It would be impossible to say on what day the *ole* ceremony ended.

When the *ole* cycle began it consisted of little except songs and dances. These were usually held shortly before daybreak and at night. About a week afterwards decorated posts were erected in the village center. These "*ole* posts" served as "shrines" to which food offerings were made. In the meantime, dancing and singing went on almost every day. On some days two or three *ole* songs and dances were performed; on others there was little activity.

The intensity of the ritual varied with the number of people in the village and according to whim. The participants changed from day to day, and some took part more often than others. Only certain men knew the songs and dances, and they served as leaders. Other men occasionally joined in and performed an accompanying role, while the women followed the dancers and served as a chorus. The usual procedure was for the men to sing and dance their way from the nearby forest into the plaza, where they were joined by the female chorus. They then made the rounds of all the houses, pausing to sing at each.

Only Matiwana and Nitvary served as leaders of the dance processions, [424] as they had inherited the necessary songs. Makurawa also knew *ole* [533] songs, but his role was always secondary. Nitvary, due to his youth and vigor, was the principal dance leader. Most of the other adult men did not participate in the dances and seemed bored by the activity at times. There was no rule governing female participation in the dance. One of the men initiated the performance without consulting the other men, and the women flocked from their houses of their own will to join the procession, falling in behind the older boys. Quain thought this reflected well the respective roles of the men and women in Trumaí [857] culture. Children always followed in the rear and cried out at the beginning and end of each major sequence in the performance.

[424] There were also *ole* songs for solo performance without choral ac-
[533] companiment, which were not considered to be the special property of any one man. The soloist made the rounds of all the houses, stopping at each to perform a song and a simple dance. Even the women sang
796 certain *ole* songs, and on one occasion Quain observed two women
243 making the customary rounds together without male accompaniment.

533 Quain mentioned one song as being quite melodious, and stated that there was greater variation of pitch in songs which were distributed throughout the upper Xingú area. The Trumaí had borrowed songs [179] heavily from their neighbors, and, in fact, had probably borrowed the whole ceremony. Kamayurá verses were most frequently heard, but there was also a significant sprinkling of Cariban words.

The chorus that followed Matiwana and Nitvary gave only the sketchiest accompaniment. The women did not seem to know the songs,

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

but the frequent repetitions and the small number of pitches made 796
accompaniment possible, and their voices fell consistently into the 243
fourth interval below those of the men. The women, however, enjoyed
their role thoroughly and gave far better support than the men, who 533
made little effort to coordinate their activities.

The songs were arranged in a series of three verses. Each time a new
house was entered, the singer started a new series. Matiwana's songs
were more elaborate than Nitvary's. Occasionally the old man would
make a mistake and have to start the verse over again, but these lapses
merely amused him. The only musical instrument used was the tapir [534]
hoof rattle.

Quain gives no detailed information on the dances involved, but [535]
apparently they were simple, and perhaps partially improvised. Nitvary
was the sole person to take special pains with his toilet before leading [302]
a dance. At such a time he usually wore a feather headdress and painted
his body ornately.

One of the more important parts of the *ole* ceremony was the complex 796
of activities surrounding the *ole* posts. A few days after the ceremony
began several poles were brought into the clearing just outside the 243
village, and the bark was peeled from them. They were rubbed with
white clay and painted in colored designs. Each man placed the pole
he had decorated upon his shoulders and brought it into the village
with shouts and singing. With the poles on their shoulders, they danced
about the village, finally placing their burdens upright in holes that had
been dug previously in the village plaza. The children helped by packing
dirt around them. The women then smeared red *urucú* dye on the bases [386]
of the poles and just below the upper ends. Tufts of cotton were put on
top by both men and women. An offering in the form of fish on *beijú* [782]
was placed in front of the posts. Later in the afternoon, and early every
afternoon for the next two weeks, the men ate together among these
poles. Their attitude in this ceremonial milieu was certainly not one of
special reverence, for they draped two blankets Quain had given them
over the posts for shade.

Nearly every day additional food offerings were placed in front of [782]
the posts. One post was given special attention. This was Nukekerehe,
which was said to be malignant. However, fear of Nukekerehe was mixed
with jokes. Quain was told one night that the men would not go to bed
until he did, for if he stayed up long Nukekerehe would surely eat him. 796
Weeks later, when the posts were pulled up and brought into the houses
of their owners, the man carrying this pole stamped his feet at the 243
children and pretended anger, much to everyone's amusement. On one 522
occasion Matiwana performed a ritual in which he was apparently
acting the part of Nukekerehe. He made wrathful noises and jumped
about in front of the post, before which were two bowls of manioc soup. [262]

796 He then started a song about the post in which he was joined by Nitvary
243 and the women. After two repetitions, the women poured a bowl of the
522 soup on Matiwana's head and shoulders, making a dripping mess of
him. He retired amid general laughter. The second bowl of soup was
then poured over the pole. A full explanation of the beliefs surrounding
the *ole* posts was not obtained.

796 Due to the fact that Quain had only recently arrived in the village
243 when the ceremony was held, there is also a lack of clarity in the system
608 of relationships known as *ole aton*. The word "*aton*" means "pet" in Trumaí,
but in the present context it applies to a temporary ceremonial identi-
fication between people, and between people and the *ole* posts. The
[571] interpersonal ties set up were only between persons of opposite sex.
However, a man could have more than one woman for *aton*, and vice
versa.

Kinship may be the determinant of these ties, but the data are inconclusive. Interestingly, the greatest number of *ole aton* relationships existed between people of the previously mentioned pairs of houses, suggesting a ceremonial reinforcement of this moiety-like arrangement.

Except for reciprocal gift-giving obligations, nothing is known of the
behavioral roles called for by these connections. The owners of the *ole*
posts were said to have their particular posts for *atons*. Their chief
[782] ceremonial duties were to peel and paint the pole, and supply it with
food offerings. It may be hypothesized that the posts represent certain
[778] spirits with which individuals are identified, perhaps as the result of
shamanistic experiences, as described by Oberg for the Kamayurá.[8]

796 During the *ole* ceremony, as during the cure described above, Quain
829 was impressed by the lack of interest in the proceedings. Those who
181 were not part of the immediate activity sat and smoked, indulging in
the usual topics of conversation. The loose patterning and secularity
which characterized the ritual bespoke the general lassitude that permeated all aspects of the culture.

The Piqui Ceremony

796 The *piqui (tsinon)* ceremony occurred at the end of the harvest of that
fruit, during the first half of the rainy season. It was similar to the *ole*
celebration, but not as lengthy nor as important. Quain's information on
the festival, obtained from Aloari, is very limited. Jakwanari, the main
functionary, occupied a position similar to that of Matiwana and Nitvary
in the *ole* ceremony. As Aloari phrased it, "Jakwanari had *tsinon* as
aton." There was house-to-house dancing by the women, accompanied
by singing of a certain series of songs. At the end of the dancing Jak-
[262] wanari's wife made a large quantity of *t'ak*, the *piqui* flour cake, which

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part 796
of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piqui* fruit drink was poured on Jak- [262]
wanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Mati-
wana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was 526
completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at 648
the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing
the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the
team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with [411]
a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The de-
fendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and
tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between
the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After
each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were con-
ducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which [431]
must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One [302]
informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is
famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn
during one part of the festival.[7] Intertribal wrestling matches were also
held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

182
Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, 534
is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the
kuth" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected 648
with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly 796
went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One
man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual,
whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that [786]
the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling
and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known [533]
only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at
night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout
the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they
were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[7] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jakui* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 355.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

Deities and Mythology

771 776 [114] The Trumaí were certainly not preoccupied with the supernatural. Quain makes no mention of the spirit owners of animal, plant, and fish species that figure so prominently in the Kamayurá belief system, nor does he speak of the "*ole* spirits" attributed to the Trumaí by Oberg.[8] Beliefs, which are a more covert part of culture, are particularly difficult for an ethnographer who lacks familiarity with the language to learn about, and it is understandable that Quain's notes are weak on this point.

771 789 Magic, except for sorcery, was not observed by Quain, unless shamanistic curing is considered a magical practice. No objects, such as charms or amulets, were thought to have a magical effect, and the already discarded ceremonial objects were the only inanimate items that could be said to have some inherent religious value. In short, the day-to-day world of the Trumaí was little influenced by extra-corporeal [776] forces or personages. The deities were nearly all culture heroes and creators, who did their work in the dim past of the "grandfathers of all the Trumaí."

821 773 [171] With some variation the mythology of the Trumaí was quite similar to that of the Kamayurá. The most important of the Trumaí creation deities was Sun (Atehle). This was not the visible, celestial sun. The Trumaí explained that the celestial sun was only the *aton* (pet) of the real Sun, who was important in all the creation myths. Sun no longer actively intervened in life, but in the days of the creation he was an anthropomorphic personage having great supernatural powers. Sun's mother was the wife of Panther (Fetde), who appears in the tales of the after life. This woman, in turn, was the daughter of Wamutsini, or Grandfather. The latter had an important part in the creation, for he was the original deity from whom the other supernaturals sprang. Wamutsini's daughter was not important in these stories.

The identity and character of Moon were ill-defined. At one time Moon was in the heavens with Sun, who, however, became angry with him and cast him out to his present isolated position. Moon was once eaten by Awalanaxe, a fish. Sun, upon learning of this, made a fishhook, caught Awalanaxe, and disembowelled him. Moon was found inside quite chewed up, but Sun molded him back into shape. A fly then crawled up the nostril of the unconscious Moon causing him to sneeze. He thought that he had merely been asleep, but Sun explained that he had been eaten.

Moon's sex was highly ambivalent, being a male in some tales and a female in others. He was not, however, important as a creator. Awalanaxe appeared frequently in the mythology as did Wakpanchene, another fish.

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[8] Oberg 1953, p. 54.

Crow appeared as a trickster and, although not a creator deity, 773
managed to bring forth new things in the process of his machinations. [825]
Waniwani, the name of an abandoned Trumaí village site, was also [103]
a village in the heavens — the home of a mythical person of the same
name. Jemenary, Kelenewary, and Nane were three other mythological
characters. The second was the sister's son (*deta*) of the first, and an inveterate
trickster. Although they appear in a Trumaí tale of mythological
times, they had no part in the creative process.

Rain (Ka'wixu) was apparently the only Trumaí deity capable of interfering 773
with the world in its present form. Although he appeared as a 821
character in the mythology, he was also believed to be the active agent
behind rains and storms. The Trumaí were extremely frightened of
thunder and lightning, and thought storms to be the result of someone's
having antagonized Rain. During a violent equinoctial thunder storm, [123]
Aloari came rushing into Quain's house, imploring him to turn out his
light and stop working as he was angering Rain. Despite their fear of displeasing
Rain, the Trumaí on a few occasions tried to drive away the
clouds. One man blew at the clouds to push them back, while Quain
was told to fire his rifle to frighten Rain away.

There was also a class of malignant beings that were important as 825
omens. The Trumaí could not look at a snake called *lesilesi*, seemingly 763
the rattlesnake. Aloari said that shortly after he saw one, two of his
brothers died. Jakwalu saw one while she was harvesting manioc in the 787
garden, and it was generally believed that for this reason she would not
live long. Quain was uncertain whether this was the immediate result
of seeing the snake, or whether the snake was an omen that the Kamayurá
were practicing witchcraft on her. Similarly, anyone seeing the
le, a bird with a red forehead, would die. And finally there were sirens 776
inhabiting the woods to the northeast of the Trumaí village. Their call 763
exerted an attraction, and anyone seeing them or cohabiting with them
would surely die. These women had long hair, wore bark cloth pubic
coverings, and did not depilate. Significantly, the direction of their
abode and their appearance correspond to those of Suyá women. Omens, 787
such as cloud formations and canine howls, indicate the imminence of
an enemy attack.

The Origin of Things

Most of the Trumaí mythology is devoted to explaining the origin of 773
the natural world, people, and culture. The chief creator deities are Sun [776]
and Wamutsini.

In the beginning there was only Wamutsini. His origin is not explained,
and he is probably thought to have always existed. He made
daughters out of wood. One of them married Panther, who lived in the

Milky Way, and gave birth to Sun and Moon; but whether Panther begot them is not known. No myth was found for the creation of the Earth, but the river waters were the result of a dispute between Sun and Wamutsini. In the region of the abandoned village of Morena there was a semicircular bay in which Wamutsini decided to take a bath.[9] He did not tell Sun of this place, as he was angry with him, and Sun, apparently in retaliation, told Crow to bring water, from which the rivers were formed. In other versions Moon and the *kate* fish also appear.

The region near Morena is important in the Trumaí myth cycle. In this section Waniwani stole Sun's wife and took her to his village. A sparse place in the brush nearby served Sun as a path to his bathing place. His house was also in the brush nearby, but no one had ever seen it, for fear of angering him.

Sun was responsible for many other features of the natural order. Sun shot the otter in the posterior, thus forming his anus; before this the otter could eliminate only through his mouth. He also made certain that man would get his work done by creating the gnat (*pejot*) which prevented the people from sleeping during the day. That man had to be so goaded into earning his subsistence is an interesting commentary on the economic ethic of the Trumaí.

Quain also recorded a number of stories of how human beings were created. In one, Awalanaxe Kute was the first human, but he swam in the water and was much like a fish. Wamutsini, who was dissatisfied with his form, baited a fishhook with a cigarette, caught him, and molded him into his present beautiful shape, as one Trumaí man explained while stroking his own body narcissistically. In another, the Sun made all people; and in still another the Sun made all good people out of arrows. (The Suyá were the offspring of a snake.) The Sun then distributed the land among the Kuluene-Kuliseu tribes, but the Suyá, who were left out, fled to their present home. The Bakairí and the white men were also made by the Sun. The Trumaí found it hard to understand why Quain did not observe rules of affinal avoidance, for "did not the Sun make the white men, too?"

There is also a myth in which Moon's wife is a Trumaí woman who was seduced by Sun. Trumaí children were born of this mating.

Sun also gave cultures to those whom he created. Long ago, Sun laid a bow, a pot, some beeswax, and a steel axe on the ground and told the Trumaí, Waurá, Kamayurá, and the white men to choose from among them. The Trumaí chose the beeswax, which made Sun angry with them. The Kamayurá chose the bow, and the Waurá, the pot. The white men

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[9] Morena, the locale where Warputsini is said by the Trumaí to have created humanity, is, according to Oberg (1953, p. 49), claimed by the Kamayurá to have been the village where their Mávutsiné, the equivalent of the Trumaí Wamutsini, created the Kamayurá.

took the axe, and this is why they have been able to build a great 773
civilization. Indeed, white men, although first encountered in 1884, [177]
figure in many Trumaí myths. For instance, Waniwani once seduced
Uluwa's wife and took her to the land of the white men, which was
thought to lie either downstream near the Yuruna or beyond the headwaters of the Kuluene River.

Many ceremonies were first taught by Sun. He presented Maibu's deceased brother with a spear-thrower and taught him the spear-throwing contest. He also first made the masks which the Trumaí once used. The people of the area received cotton and tobacco from Sun, and he gave the fishtrap to the Mehinaku.

The foregoing creation myths collected by Quain were probably only 773
a small part of the Trumaí cycle. Paradoxically, the historic legend of 114
their migration into the area and the subsequent borrowing of culture
elements from their neighbors would seem to negate the creation myths [173]
in which the Trumaí appear to have always lived in the upper Xingú [177]
area. Quain states that they have reconciled the inconsistencies, but
he does not support this point with any concrete data. Undoubtedly
this problem bothered the ethnographer far more than the Trumaí.

The After-Life

Waniwani, the village of the afterworld, was located in the heavens. 775
In order to get there one had to travel the Milky Way. This was the
abode of Panther, and the road was lined with many panthers who inflicted dangerous wounds on the wayfarers. After passing through this
gamut, the dead entered the Trumaí village. Here many Trumaí resided,
and the rivers and lagoons teemed with *kate* fish. These were usually
caught by poisoning, as the *tawasi* tree grew in abundance. There was
no death in this afterworld; it was only on earth that death was feared, [761]
said the Trumaí.

Jemenary and Kelenewary

The last of the Trumaí myths collected by Quain concerned Jemenary 773
and his trickster nephew Kelenewary. This story, which has a decided
Oedipus theme with the maternal uncle in the father role, was the only
context in which these two appeared, and they cannot be identified
further than to say that they were mythological beings who lived in the
"long ago" of the Trumaí.

Jemenary was angry with Kelenewary because the latter, his *deta*, or sister's son, was sleeping with his wife. Kelenewary knew no shame, for a good Trumaí would never have done such a thing. Jemenary tried by a series of ruses to rid himself of his nephew. He ordered him to

773 gather some vegetable dye in a tree in which he had put a snake. The wily nephew made designs on his leg with the dye which caused the snake to fall out of the tree. He returned home and resumed his relations with his uncle's wife.

Jemenary then ordered Kelenewary to cross a river in which there was a fish that would surely eat him. The nephew suffered some bites, but these he cured by smearing with another vegetable dye. The infuriated uncle then sent him to the village of Rain, Kelenewary's cross-cousin, to get a highly prized wood which Rain guarded closely. Kelenewary arrived at Rain's village and repeatedly urged Rain to have sexual intercourse with his wife. After many wakeful nights, the couple, exhausted, fell into deep sleep. Kelenewary stole the wood, and returned to his uncle's house, where he continued to sleep with his uncle's wife.

Later, when the two men were building an eagle cage, Kelenewary, who was sitting on top of it, angered his uncle by saying that the eagle was no larger than one of his wife's pubic hairs. The enraged Jemenary released the vertical poles in the framework of the structure, catapulting the insolent nephew through the air and into the branches of a tree. Kelenewary was hurt, and Nane, a creature having a human form but capable of flying, carried him to his village. Under Nane's care, he drank medicines that restored him to health and caused him to grow to a tremendous size. The uncle, in despair, created the deer with the intention of having it kill his nephew. Kelenewary, however, lassoed the animal with his armband, and it killed the uncle instead. The opposition thus removed, the nephew returned to the embraces of his dead uncle's wife.

Lore and Learning

821 The cosmology of the Trumai was not very elaborate. Many stars
775 and constellations were known and named. As noted above, the Milky
Way entered into their beliefs of an after-life. Special attention was also
given to the Hesperides, which may be the constellation that dates their
ceremonial season at the end of the rains. Quain was told by Thomas
241 Young, the missionary, that the planting time was determined by astral
805 phenomena. Quain was not able to confirm this, but he noted that the
Trumaí knew the proper time for burning the felled brush. This knowledge
was important as the rains arrive suddenly, and once the brush becomes
wet it is almost impossible to fire.

805 Flora and fauna also served as markers of seasonal passage. One such
824 sign was an insect that issued a shrill and pleasant whistle from dusk
825 until far into the night in the weeks immediately preceding the rainy
season.

It was Quain's good fortune that a lunar eclipse occurred while he 821
was still in the company of the Trumai who were escorting him back 789
to civilization. On about November 7, 1938, the moon eclipsed shortly after it rose. When it was first noticed, one man asked Quain to fire his gun. Another danced and shot a burning arrow at the moon.

The eclipse lasted for more than an hour, and during this time the Indians refused to proceed further. It was necessary to frighten away whatever was eating the moon. To right the disturbance of the natural harmony, Maibu drew himself up to his full stature and addressed the moon at great length. All the tribes in the area, Quain was told, were taking similar measures.

The eclipse was thought to be a harbinger of evil. One man decided to [787]
return home in the belief that now the white men would kill him. Yati, who had an infected hand, was sad because Matiwana, his father, would think by this sign that he, Yati, had been "killed" by Mehinaku witchcraft. As Yati's hand grew worse, the rest of the party began to believe that the eclipse was caused by old Matiwana's tears.

Seasons were recognized as "sunny times" and "rainy times," and 805
the number of moons and their phases were used as time-markers. Long periods were reckoned as "when my father was small" or "when I was a
boy;" short periods by adding up the passing nights. This latter method [802]
was ineffectual for anything after ten days, as ten marked the upper limit of Trumai counting.

Enumeration of objects was shown by holding up the appropriate 802
combination of fingers. There were words for the numbers one through ten, but ten also signified "a great many." Large quantities could be expressed by gesture as well. When Maibu wanted to indicate many *beijú*, he held up his hand to their height when stacked.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE LIFE CYCLE

Birth

843 The Trumai were well aware of the facts of conception, paternity, and
[842] pregnancy. That menstruation ceased after conception was, of course,
perfectly obvious to them, but it is uncertain whether this was considered a diagnostic of pregnancy. Maibu related some female gossip to Quain to the effect that Aloari's wife, Yumunuwa, was pregnant. When Quain objected on the grounds that she had only recently menstruated, Maibu pointed out as indisputable evidence that her navel was protruding.

847 One of the Trumai women, the clubfooted, childless, and unmarried
Yawala, was pregnant during Quain's stay. She spent most of her time
[732] in her hammock and received little attention, except from other women
[848] who kept insisting that they perform an abortion upon her. Abortion was
usually induced by manipulating the abdomen, but also, it seems, by drinking certain "waters" of which the women had knowledge. Yawala resisted all urgings and maintained that she wanted a child "to hold in my arms."

Abortion was undoubtedly frequent, and infanticide too, and
at times without the agreement of the husband. It is not known what,
843 if any, observances and precautions were taken during pregnancy
833 except that sexual intercourse ceased when a woman became very large because "it hurts her."

844 Parturition was accompanied by observances led by old Matiwana,
846 during which the men sat and smoked. The women held the laboring woman in a sitting position, in which she gave birth. The role of the husband before and after delivery was not recorded. After Aloari's son was born, however, his wife bled for three moons. During this time he had to drink a certain medicine. Quain's notes suggest that a form of couvade was observed.

[431] After birth, the only economic exchange that took place was a gift which the husband gave to the wife in payment for the child.

Early Childhood

162 The youngest child in the Trumai village was a girl between one and two years of age. The other girl was about six. Of the boys, one was about

four, three between five and seven, two between seven and ten, and the 162
other two between ten and twelve. The little girl could not as yet walk
alone. The two youngest boys could, although occasionally they still [853]
suckled at their mother's breasts. [856]

The Trumai infant was subjected to very little training. Rarely was
the very young child told not to do anything. However, all the children 863
except for Katsits, the infant girl, knew that they should defecate in [861]
the bush and urinate away from the village plaza. Katsits very often eliminated in the house, or while she was in her mother's arms. X'utsi, the mother, merely scraped a bit of dirt over the wet spot. She gave no indication to the child that this was an undesirable act, and the child took no note of her own activity. Exactly how a child learned to exert self-control is not clear, but it was probably by emulating older children and adults, whose toilet habits were hardly a secret.

The child suckled until it was five or six years of age, although it 853
began to partake of the ordinary diet by the end of the first year. Yumunuwa said that she suckled Tsirikoan three times a day: morning, noon, and evening. This was not a strict regimen, for the boy often
crawled into her lap or straddled her waist and suckled at odd hours. [854]
Until about five years old, the child slept in the mother's hammock, or
if motherless, with the father. Often it slept with the mother's breast [513]
in its mouth, and if it awoke during the night, it suckled until it fell asleep again.

The nursing of older children is a perpetuation of the infantile pattern, 862
and it is indicative of the lack of stress on weaning. Also, because of 854
infanticide and the low birth rate, there is little cause for sibling rivalry 847
among the Trumai. 593

Help was given the child in learning to walk and talk. The men ap-
peared to devote more attention to this phase of upbringing than the 868
women. Katsits was often walked about by her father, and sometimes by Maibu or other men who lived in the same house. Her father was eager to have her walk by herself so that he would not need to coach her, but nevertheless he and the other adults showed the greatest indulgence and patience in this task.

Part of the father's anxiety was doubtless due to the taboos which 868
restricted his activity until his child had learned to walk. The most
important of these was a ban on sexual intercourse. When Katsits 262
developed colic, it was generally thought to be the outcome of coitus 834
between the parents. Certain foods were also forbidden the father, one 753
being seasoned fish hash, which was a great favorite. It is not known whether the mother was also required to observe food taboos.

More emphasis was placed on teaching the child to speak. The adults 868
and older children made repeated attempts to put words into the mouths 867
of the very young, saying the same phrases over and over again. In this

868 867 way the child was taught the kinship terms applying to his immediate family and age mates. He did not, however, learn to classify the whole village until much later.

Pre-Pubescence

593 866 A good deal of a youngster's time was spent around his house, and his attachment to his parents first, and then to other members of his household, was very strong. Dependence on the parent was expressed in a variety of ways. When the motherless Matsiripi's father, Oirupa, left the village for a few days, the boy was dispirited. When someone approached from the canoe landing, he would run anxiously to see who it was. His joy was obvious as he clung to the hand of his returned father. This pattern was repeated, but with less intensity, by children having both a father and mother.

152 855 Night terrors were common among the children. They were afraid of the dark and, if they awakened in the night, sought immediately for their father or mother, or howled if both were absent. The early pattern of sleeping with a parent undoubtedly had much to do with these fears, but ample justification for them can be found in other aspects of the culture. Adults communicated to the children their own nocturnal anxieties, [186] which were stimulated by fears of enemy attack. The young made frequent references to the Suyá. One little boy, after an especially uneasy night, marched around the village chanting the word "Suyá" in a deep, serious voice. A frightened child's cries were immediately answered by his parents, who recognized it by tone. Tay, an orphan boy, often awakened with loud howls, but the people of his house paid little attention, and listened instead for their own children.

857 The children played and lolled about in the house, and had closer ties with co-residents than with others bearing the same kin relationships. When Kuyafi shifted her hammock to the house of her new spouse, her child cried lustily at the change of residence. The boys frequently visited in other houses, and there were no restrictions on lying in the nearest hammock, no matter to whom it belonged. This liberty was [123] taken by the adults also. To keep visitors out of his hammock, Quain had to tell everyone that his "wife would be angry" if anyone used it. This was the standard excuse for turning down such requests.

867 Children were given considerable freedom. Adults were interested in them, but made little effort to direct their activities. Encouragement was given, but the child was never forced to do anything. There were few "do nots." However, the child learned that he did not have an unlimited claim to all property, and sometimes he was punished for his transgressions. He also learned that he should not disturb older people unduly. The adults had a high tolerance for the noises of children, but

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

occasionally someone, who was occupied or in bad temper, would 867
chase the child away or slap him lightly. The only time that Quain ever
saw a child given physical punishment was after some petty pilfering. [861]
In this case the father whipped him angrily across the legs. Usually,
however, only a verbal reprimand followed misconduct.

Children were in a somewhat privileged category. With respect to 858
gift-giving, the claims of the young were particularly strong, although,
as noted above, they were not unlimited. When a child wanted something, 431
it would either be given it or a good excuse would be offered. Parents
backed up such demands, and were hurt and aggrieved if the request
was refused.

Children had almost as strong control over their property as did the 858
older Trumaí. Quain dealt directly with the children to secure speci-
mens of children's playthings. The children manifested the same pos- 422
sessiveness as their parents in these dealings and in their general con-
cepts of property. Even little Katsits cried when her father wanted to
put up her necklace in the trade game. Her father let her keep the neck-
lace and sought other objects to exchange.

Children cried frequently, and their tears rarely went unheeded. 861
Teasing by adults was common, but when a child broke into full and
lusty howls, he was soothed and comforted. There were no admonitions 152
against crying itself. The only time a child was reprimanded for crying
was when it was absolutely unwarranted and annoying to the adults.
In such cases, a stern voice was all that was required. By the time a
boy reached the age of ten he rarely wept, for he was then going [881]
through the initial phases of the puberty rites, and courage and fortitude
were expected.

Little work was demanded of children. The boys often accompanied 857
the women on gathering expeditions, but this was the only help they
gave them. On the other hand, they were frequently called on to perform
errands for the men or lend them some small aid. These tasks were done
willingly.

The older boys occasionally accompanied the men on hunting and 868
fishing trips, thus learning the necessary subsistence techniques. They
participated actively in fish poisoning, helped in the preparation and 857
application of the *tawasi* bark, and in the gathering of the drugged fish.
Of all the subsistence techniques, horticulture was the last to be learned.
The youngest Trumaí to have a garden was Autsuki, who was going
through the final stages of the puberty ceremonies. Maibu's foster son,
Jawaku, was still considered too young to cultivate his own plot,
although he was no more than two years younger than Autsuki. Most
of the boys were well acquainted with the work, however, through
trailing the men to the gardens and watching them.

857 Among the eight boys below the ages of Autsuki and Jawaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tsirikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

[572] Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

857 526 [154] [838] [858] The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

648 857 526 [484] [604] [171] Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy came to the Trumaí village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The [576] Trumaí men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors.

All other play was more spontaneous and uncoordinated. Amusement 857
and education were derived from using small bows and arrows which [411]
all boys possessed and the older ones knew how to make. Much of their
time was spent shooting at insects and other targets in the village, but
three or four children might occasionally go together to the lagoon and
shoot fish from the banks. Sometimes they would wander off to the
clearings when planting was in progress, or travel through the woods
to gather guava. Few restraints were placed on their movements.

Nor was the sex play of children greatly inhibited by their elders. 857
Actually there was no heterosexual activity between children, for there 864
were no girls of appropriate age in the village. Thus, pre-pubescent 838
sexual relations occurred between boys or between boys and men, and
almost always it was the boys who were the instigators. Quain felt 156
certain that Tay was the only member of the village who might be considered
a homosexual. He was an orphan, and although he was fed and [136]
housed, he was identified with no family, and no one took any special
interest in him. Tay, more than any boy, remained aloof from other
children. His sexual advances were directed to a large extent toward
the older males, who often cooperated with him. For example, he often
wrapped his legs around Jakuma's hips, going through sexual motions.
The older man would giggle when he did this and show signs of being
mildly stimulated. Mayuva, among others, was less receptive, but his
only mode of resistance was to arch his body away from the boy.

The sexual play of a young child might even include his father. Quain 857
observed little Tsirikoan tugging at his father's penis. The father showed 864
some annoyance, but only because he did not want to be bothered. 593
Although children were rarely manipulated in this way by the men,
Quain saw Yanahi, a young married man, amusing himself and some
boys by pulling Tsirikoan's penis until the child had an erection. The [123]
boys whispered to Yanahi that Quain was watching, but this apparently
made no difference to him, for he continued his activity.

The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys 857
themselves were likewise in the nature of play. Quain saw no homosexuality
between adults, and, contrary to Levi-Strauss' inference from 838
Quain's notes, there was no kinship tie that implied permissible homosexual
relations.[1] 114

The facts of sex were certainly no secret to the children. Living in 864
undivided houses and sleeping with or adjacent to their parents, they
were aware at an early age of the sexual activities of their elders. No
effort was made to keep sexual knowledge from them, and they derived
considerable amusement from the sexual affairs of the adults. Tsirikoan
and some other boys raised a great hue and cry when they happened

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[1] Levi-Strauss 1948, p. 337.

864 upon his parents cohabiting; and they immediately told everyone in the village.

Puberty Rites

881 304 Male puberty rites were divided into two periods. The first, which was preparatory, covered about three or four years and consisted of the administration of certain medicines (*okeis*) and body-scraping. The second covered a much shorter period and constituted the actual initiation of the boy into the men's group. The observances, starting when a boy was between ten and twelve years of age, increased in frequency and intensity until his final initiation. The purposes, as expressed by the Trumaí, were to make him grow big and strong, give him courage and fortitude, and mark certain achievements on the road to manhood.

Body-scraping was one of the most important means used to accomplish these ends. Two different types of scarification instruments [412] [239] were in use. One was a sort of comb made of fish teeth imbedded in wood; the other was a polished armadillo claw. The former was used during the early phases of scarification, the latter, during the late phases when the whole body was scraped.

The first scraping was limited to the arms or legs. Kamkuti received his initial scarification on the biceps as an aftermath of shooting his first fish. The scraping, painful though it was, was a reward and a recognition of manly achievement. It was also a test of endurance and resistance to pain, and the boy was admonished against flinching or weeping. Such occasions were the first on which the child was exhorted to be manly and courageous.

When the boy reached biological puberty, the scraping became more severe. Arms, legs, flanks, chest, back, and stomach were all scraped, and the operation must have been most painful. Each boy could expect to have this happen to him a few times during the course of his initiation. Jawaku, Maibu's foster-son, had his first overall scarification while Quain was in residence. This was a prelude to the full initiation rites, through which he was soon to pass. Jawaku was a very timid boy, and significantly lacked the assertiveness that was so much a part of Trumaí personality. Katauka, who was officiating, scraped his legs first, then his back, flanks and arms, ending with a light treatment on his chest and stomach. Jawaku looked extremely unhappy, but he did not cry until Katauka began scraping his back. Maibu held him firmly and told him not to cry, while others scolded him for being a baby.

Before the scarification started Jawaku's body was moistened with water from a nearby pot. After it was finished, Katauka rubbed him [752] [278] completely with the bark of the *aruparukatem* tree. This or the bark of the *fiti'a* tree (the source of the fish poison previously referred to) were always used to treat the wounds made by scraping.

always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked 881
away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood. 304

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made
the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated [264]
with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was
the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piqui* fruit. [278]
Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piqui*
without first taking the medicine.

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was 881
to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the 856
adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were 304
very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles 826
of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí
believed to be the result of the scraping.

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made 881
from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these 278
preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, 856
but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were
especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites.

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of 881
the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went 304
through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during [648]
the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved
intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was [561]
told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however,
had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had
entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated.
Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied.

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's [553]
father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given
previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms.

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper [171]
Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples,
made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the
lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations
and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satis- [826]
factorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly." [186]

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of
strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent [866]
intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the
boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced.

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was 881
located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and 866
Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along

881 the banks, while men crowded into a canoe. The reptile was located, but
866 instead of the one-foot diameter that it was at first said to have, it
turned out to be only three inches thick. But, as Quain laconically
observed, it was hungry. The men shouted at Jawaku to jump in the
water and grab it.

The boy approached the reptile cautiously and with obvious fear. The
[136] anaconda, aroused, slithered through the water to the other side of the
lagoon. Jawaku's unwillingness to fight was now apparent. There were
shouts that he was frightened. These goads temporarily overcame his
reluctance, and he waded through the water and grabbed the snake
around the middle, lifting it out of the water. The anaconda began
throwing its coils, while striking at the boy. In a panic, Jawaku stumbled
blindly for the shore, tripped over a log, and released his hold on the
snake. All the men shouted, "He's afraid!" as the crestfallen boy
dragged himself out of the water and silently walked home.

That night, Maibu made a lengthy speech in which he absolved himself
from any responsibility for Jawaku's cowardice. The next day
another reptile was sighted, but Jawaku did not even bother to look at it.

881 On the other hand, Autsuki measured up to what was expected of
him, and thus was able to continue the ritual that marked his maturation.
Immediately upon the successful outcome of his struggle with an
anaconda, he went to his house. He had now entered the seclusion phase
[604] of his puberty rites. Tun, his mother's brother, who was acting as next
of kin, built a partition screening him off from the rest of the house. He
was allowed nothing to eat but a medicinal preparation called *wyryx*, and
he could leave his confinement to defecate only when everyone was asleep.

881 The seclusion period was to last until the ear-piercing festival which
304 was to be held several months later, but Autsuki was cheerful about it.
In accordance with normal practice, he had his arms scraped shortly
after he entered confinement, and he was also given the adult tonsure.

881 There remained only one more step in the cycle of initiation rites:
868 initiation into the shamanistic art of curing. Completion of this final
756 phase was necessary for full participation in the men's circle and for
the privilege of smoking tobacco.[3] All of the uninitiated Trumaí youths
[826] knew how to smoke and occasionally did so, but the adults referred to
this as "lying smoking." In order to "really" smoke it was necessary
[195] to have a ceremony performed by Matiwana. Exactly when this occurred
is open to question, but ideally it was supposed to follow the
final seclusion and ear-piercing. Aloari had not yet had the ceremony
performed, although he was married and had a child. In his own words,
he was still "too young." Aloari was evidently equating maturation with
the puberty rites.

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[3] Oberg (1953, p. 60) reports that uninitiated men may not smoke among the Kamayurá, either.

Changes in status and expected behavior were connected with the 884
transition to manhood, and new modes of participation in the culture 881
were open to the young man. It is necessary, however, to differentiate
between the transition consequent upon increased age and that which
resulted specifically from passage through the life crisis rites. Ideally,
such a distinction should not have existed, as the achievement of physical
maturity should have been heralded by the socio — religious observances.
But there were two young married men, Yanahi and Aloari,
who had not completed the ritual — the former because of disinclination,
the latter due to the delay caused by his captivity among the Yuruna. [561]
Aloari, although both vocal and aggressive, and having the men's
haircut, was definitely not one of the men's group yet. His smoking
was only of the "lying" kind. He still needed the ritual admittance to the [276]
smoking group. Yanahi, on the other hand, still had the youthful haircut,
but, for unknown reasons, was already a full-fledged member of the [304]
men's group. He was frequently seen with the adolescent boys, however,
and his activities were characterized by a youthful lack of gravity. His
history shows that there was no sudden break with boyhood among the
Trumaí. The puberty rites were spread over a long enough time to
allow a slow incorporation into the adult world.

Upon reaching man's estate, the young man became an integral part 885
of the household and village economies. To be sure, property attitudes 181
had been developed early, but he now had a greater opportunity to express [421]
them, inasmuch as he was able to participate in the upper Xingú
trade system and thus accumulate more personal possessions. His
entrance into the men's circle gave him a larger voice in community
affairs, but at the same time it involved him in many village squabbles,
which were intensified by his search for sexual partners or a wife. Also,
among his added responsibilities was the defense of the village.

In short, the status of the newly arrived man brought greater economic independence and a fuller participation in the social and ceremonial life of the community. In return for his heightened importance he was expected to act with sobriety and self-reliance, to show courage and fortitude, and to be more aggressive in asserting his new rights and prerogatives. This last was largely a matter of degree, for Quain had been impressed at the extent to which children asserted themselves and shared the mannerisms and attitudes of adults.

Female Puberty

The only data available on female puberty observances concern the 881
first menses (*wasipanes*), when the girl is confined for a period during which she wears her hair over her face. Rodrigues Ferreira, in commenting on a Trumaí girl in seclusion, states that she must remain in her

881 compartment in the house for six months, at the end of which time she is accepted as a young woman.[3]

841 Menstruation caused no special distress to the Trumaí women. They
[515] maintained personal cleanliness with the aid of leaves, going out into the brush behind the house to care for themselves. Although the relevant taboos were observed, the women talked frankly to Quain about menstruation, and were interested in learning what white women did during the period. The men, although expressing a fear of menstrual blood, did not shun the subject either. Most of them knew when women in the village were having their menses.

841 Everyone was extremely shocked when Quain told them that white
829 people often had intercourse during the menstrual period, for such contact would make a Trumaí man fall ill and die. Aloari said that he would
[753] surely die of a cough if he copulated with his wife then. The blood itself was considered malignant, infecting whatever it touched. The whole village became very disturbed when Kuyafi dropped some menstrual blood on the path to the gardens. Aloari averred that he would not go for manioc until the rain washed it away.

Fear of polluting forced a menstruating woman to make frequent trips to the weeds, where nobody walked. The danger also extended to
[252] her person. During this time she was not allowed to cook, although she could sit around the fire when food was being prepared. (Quain's departure from the Trumaí village was delayed for a day as both the wife and sister-in-law of Aloari, who was to accompany him, were menstruating, and there was only one woman left in the household to make his
[515] *beijú* supply.) Nor could the menstruating woman carry water or take
[262] a bath. However, a prohibition on eating fish was the only food taboo that she had to observe.

Marriage

582 A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation, or at the corresponding age level. Women were suitable prospects soon after their puberty rites. It was common for marriages
584 to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants. These
[582] infant betrothals were usually between cross-cousins. It is doubtful,
[605] however, whether many such arranged marriages were consummated, both because of the high mortality and the fact that most of the Trumaí women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle.

584 Courtships were neither long nor formalized. When a man developed
836 an interest in a woman, he usually expressed it by attempting to seduce her. In most instances, amorous advances were made without any in-

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[3] Rodrigues Ferreira 1946, p. 92.

tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive 584
sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever 836
he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly
disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving
attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were [837]
not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were 584
the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent
of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in
making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see
who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she
was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While [586]
Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day
or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man 583
was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's 584
mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached
the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her
kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother,
others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the [604]
latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave
the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were [831]
also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime
the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his 585
house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which [226]
nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which [526]
the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The [302]
actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into
the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the 595
Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the 583
case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied
the Trumai, for there were not enough women to go around; but 831
even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the
marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After
marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their
positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The 888
men were either *axosek* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for 561
the women were, respectively, *axosektsa* and *tdakits*. These were not age

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[561] grades except in the broadest sense, as the term for "younger" covered everyone from infants to people in the prime of life. The terms, however, [181] indicate a keen consciousness that those who have passed their prime are distinct from those who are still developing or are at the height of their physical powers.

The Trumaí believed that it was good to be young, vigorous, and strong, while advancing years were a stigma. Quain always met with a stout denial whenever he suggested to someone that he was older than someone else. An old person, they said with contempt, was one who did not bathe or shave the crown of his head any more. Mayuva did not [626] bother to bathe one morning and was derided by Kerami, who accused him of being old. A short time later he reappeared freshly bathed.

[162] While several individuals were considered "older," the only ones who fell into the Trumaí category of true old age were Matiwana and Yahu. The latter's status was further lowered by the fact that he was con- [563] sidered to be a Kamayurá; his father was a member of that tribe and he had a son living with them. However, Yahu was still sexually potent and a full participant in the economy.

[195] A person of truly advanced old age was called *dewan*. This term, which has uncomplimentary connotations, was applied only to men "whose penis is dead" or to women past menopause. Matiwana was the only person of either sex who fitted the *dewan* category. The only tasks for which he was suited were light craft work, gathering firewood, and an occasional fishing trip. He was, however, the fount of nearly all Trumaí ceremonial knowledge. Matiwana was well cared for by his son and by his household. The son's affection and loyalty to his father were deep, and he was the old man's constant companion. The rest of the villagers remained aloof from Matiwana.

888 The Trumaí abhorred the thought of their own future old age, and
554 they transferred some of this fear to the persons of the aged. Status
[756] declined with age, and Matiwana had his ceremonial lore and shamanistic skill to thank for what position he still maintained.

Death

768 Neither the village site nor the house of the deceased had to be
764 abandoned following death. Burial took place in the village plaza. The corpse was interred lying on its back in an extended position, wrapped and bound in its hammock. Numerous cooking utensils, including a *ja'meo* (ceramic griddle for baking *beijú*) were buried with both male and female deceased.

765 No deaths occurred while Quain was in residence, but mourning was still going on for a man who had recently died. The burden of mourning fell on the female relatives of the deceased. The only observance in-

cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint 765
for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also.
In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies,
and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden [587]
her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as
she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was
reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet
grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the
dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs,
about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the
reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for
her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers
as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

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Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are 437
a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the 524
economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except
for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized
recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the 526
whole upper Xingú area.[4] Wrestling matches were especially frequent 648
during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen [171]
interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a
point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made
every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always
friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a
friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumai or close
kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always
shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was 526
needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small
bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than
competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the
contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies [302]
were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually
combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The [352]
women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys
were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones [658]
were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other.
A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

526 would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either
contestant to concede defeat.[5] The wrestlers were often pushed around
[152] considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions
of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men
to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that
the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá
562 women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region
526 that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women.
186 Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kama-
648 yurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval
of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá
171 female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and
went through other provocative motions. He also described how they
had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him
was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who
could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also
practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal
visits.

The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors
574 forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on
535 which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies
when they served as a chorus to the men.

533 Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning,
[534] all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes con-
[796] sisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together.
Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing.
They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children.
[123] Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance
by the ethnographer.

522 Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of
571 others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served
occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

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[5] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 59) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

master at this dead-pan type of humor. When the women attempted to 522
talk to him and Quain, he remained entirely disinterested, occasionally 571
breaking in on them to address himself solely to the ethnographer. Although
the women affected exasperation, they really enjoyed this negative attention.

The women were easy to frighten. Aloari teased his wife and sister-in-law 152
by chasing them with a live snake in his hands. The women were 522
also sensitive to touch (few men could resist brushing a hand lightly
over an ever-exposed buttock when a crowd was present), and they
became nervous when they saw that such teasing was impending. On
a day when all the women had crowded into Quain's house, he pulled on
the perineal cord of one of them. She immediately loosed a scream and ran [123]
out the door followed by the others, who laughed hilariously. Thereafter
all the women expected to be teased by Quain, and they identified him
somewhat more with the other men than they had before. The men
often threatened rape in jest, but even when the women recognized the
humorous intent, their basic anxiety was never completely allayed.

Pranks were frequent among the men. It was particularly amusing for 522
a man to inform the others that Quain had given him a gift. Yati went to
the trouble of filling a cartridge box with dirt and soberly telling all the
men that the box was full of rifle shells. He was among the more popular
jokers of the village. And pranks were played on him also. One night, in
jest, Aloari shot at Yati's chicken with Quain's rifle on the pretext that
it had been crowing. (The noise of the rifle report was also calculated to
terrify the village.) Tun and Jakwanari occasionally tried to be funny
by sitting alone and talking to themselves rapidly and incoherently.
This was considered forced humor, and no one so much as chuckled.

A major source of diversion was gossip about who was cohabiting 522
with whom. While this sometimes led to shouting arguments, it was 521
more often merely playful talk, and it was treated as such. Accusations 831
of sexual intercourse, sometimes true and sometimes false, were tossed
back and forth between the men, usually with accompanying leers.

Manners and Morals

The Trumai gossiped about sex, not because it was held to be morally 181
wrong to do so, but because they had a frank and honest interest in it. 831
Sex was considered a part of the "good life," but it was also thought 577
to be a distraction from work. Thus, the chief made lengthy speeches [521]
castigating the men for being interested in nothing but sex when they [822]
should have been out planting. Similarly, Yanahi should have finished [537]
his puberty rites, but, as one of his kinsmen bluntly put it, all he wanted
to do was "*tsidi*" (copulate). In reality the men took vicarious enjoyment
in watching Yanahi exert his newly found sex prowess.

577 Yanahi was less inhibited than any of the other men, but his behavior
831 was not considered shocking or immoral. Quain had apparently
833 arrived at the village just at the time that Yanahi was on the threshold
156 of sexual experience. He appeared in Quain's house one night to show
that he had an erection and announced that he would soon be having
123 coitus. Thereafter, he rarely failed to tell Quain of his exploits. One night quite a crowd, including Yanahi and one of his paramours, Vatsiat, was gathered in Quain's house. The young man suddenly developed a longing for her and, as soon as all the visitors had left, satisfied his craving noisily amidst Quain's pots and pans. He was proud of his virility, as were most of the Trumaí men.

577 No discredit attached to the male involved in a love affair and very
831 little to the woman. Oirupa merely scolded his sister for having copulated
with Yanahi. Only where adultery was involved did promiscuity
562 lower the status of a woman. Chastity before marriage was not expected,
837 and there was not a single virgin in the village over the age of puberty. Older women without husbands or close relatives to protect them were often used for sexual purposes against their will. This was especially the case with unmarried foreign women. Some of them complained that they had to dispense their favors to too many men too often.

831 This aggressiveness and the danger of bride-capture made the women
152 extremely fearful of being raped, and, as noted above, they were
583 uneasy even when the threats were made in fun. One morning Quain
decided to get rid of his numerous female visitors by employing this
[123] device. They all fled except one, who, despite her seeming courage, looked worried. Without doubt, the women enjoyed visiting Quain, but a man told him that if he were to have intercourse with any one of them, they would all fear him. Over and above this fear of rape, there
[578] was a definite hostility between the sexes, which was usually well controlled, but which on occasion might explode in open quarrels between the men and the women.

576 No cumbersome taboos surrounded physiological functions. Belching
514 and the release of flatus were common in company, but generally disregarded.
827 However, if an unusually unpleasant odor followed, those nearby spat on the ground as a mark of disgust. The men urinated near their houses or at the edge of the village plaza. The women went to the edge of the village clearing or behind the houses. Both sexes went a short distance into the brush to defecate, but at night elimination was permitted in the village plaza if a hole was first dug for this purpose and covered over.

There was no salacious attitude toward body processes. The Trumaí were puzzled by Quain's desire for privacy in his personal habits and his curiosity about other people's. One woman seriously asked if she could watch him eliminate.

The main motivation for going into the brush to defecate was not 514
modesty, but a feeling of revulsion for body products. One did not 827
eliminate in places frequented by people. Yanahi was disgusted when
Quain defecated in his garden and claimed that the garden was ruined.
Similarly, it was considered repulsive to defecate in the water. When [123]
Quain described the great ship that had brought him to Brazil, the
only thing that the Trumai found hard to believe was that the people
aboard would have to eliminate in the water.

The rules of etiquette required a person entering or leaving company 576
to make an appropriate statement. The salutation usually consisted of a phrase stating what the person being greeted was doing at the moment. Thus, typical greetings were, "You are eating," "You have returned from fishing," "You are sitting," and so on. When leaving a person or group it was proper to announce, "I am leaving," followed generally by a statement of what one was going to do. If this last was not observed, the departing person was usually asked where he was going. These formalities were not as regularly invoked in the larger gatherings as in house-visiting.

The rules of etiquette also required the emission of conventionalized cries on particular occasions, such as the bringing of food into the village or the offering of tobacco to guests. In the latter case the person making the presentation cried "*aha*," the recipient "*ha-a-a ha ha ha*." These amenities, which were observed between the Trumai, were always louder when an outsider was involved.

Hospitality was extended to all upper Xingú Indians and white men 574
who visited the village. In part this was inspired by a fear of their 123
neighbors, in part by etiquette. The Trumai had little reason to fear
Quain; yet he was treated with the greatest kindness and consideration, [648]
and everyone was eager to converse with him. Indeed, their attentions were so constant that at times he wanted nothing more than to be left alone.

While the men were far more self-assertive than the women, they 152
were also extremely sensitive. They were insulted at the refusal of a
request, or at the denial of what they considered to be the recognition
due them as individuals. They did not like to be treated as faceless
members of a group. During the argument that followed Quain's complaint [123]
that some article of his had been stolen, Maibu criticized him for [576]
addressing them collectively as "Trumai," while they always called
him "*capitão*" or by his name.

The Trumai were greatly interested in Western goods and their behavior 123
toward whites was unrestrained. The following quotation from 609
Quain's field notes describes this succinctly:

> The reason why it is so difficult to live with these people is that they are so [177]
> "impolite." At least in their dealings with me, an outsider, and with the mission-

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

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aries, they are unrestrained in physical contact and in the expression of their momentary sentiments. In many instances their motives are kind and helpful. But their complete lack of shyness makes their sometimes bungling efforts troublesome.

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They were more reserved among themselves. Body contact and caresses were absent, as such demonstrations of friendship were unnecessary. The Trumai were different people when outsiders were in the village.

CHAPTER SIX

THE DEATH OF A CULTURE

Today there are but twenty-five remaining Trumai. The fact that 105
they disbanded once during the recent past shows that this small 161
number approaches a critical point at which such a culture is no longer 182
socially viable. If the present population trend continues, Trumai society will definitely end, and, with the complete assimilation of the [177]
descendants of the Trumaí into other tribes, Trumaí culture, except for those elements of it that have been adopted by their neighbors, will belong to the past.

Primitive cultures and the populations that transmitted them are 105
disappearing in many parts of the world today. In most instances, 177
however, they are being destroyed by extended face-to-face contacts with Western society. This is not precisely the case with the Trumaí. Here, there was no large scale transmission of Western culture and no direct interaction with Brazilian society. But slight though the contact of the upper Xingú Indians with the whites was, it resulted in the in- [164]
troduction of respiratory infections that contributed greatly to their depopulation. In this sense, the white man is responsible for the impending death of the Trumaí.

Although the Trumai were still carrying on their village life during 105
Quain's residence and were to continue to do so, certain changes were 178
taking place in their culture which were symptomatic of the fundamental instability induced by their low numbers.

It is immediately apparent that their weakness made the Trumaí 105
vulnerable to other tribes, both the nominally friendly ones of the upper 648
Xingú Basin, and the hostile ones of the surrounding country. In 1938 the Trumaí could not have successfully withstood a strong Suyá or Yuruna raid, nor could they have launched an attack upon the Suyá for women, as did the more vigorous Kamayurá. Indeed, the Trumaí had [152]
good reason to fear the least sound in the jungle at night.

Also, the Trumai were held in low esteem by their immediate neigh- 105
bors at the time of Quain's study. This was a severe blow to their *elan*, 182
and it undoubtedly affected their self-image. It led, too, to more con- 648
crete results. As noted above, other tribes took Trumaí women during their most fertile years, and it is almost certain that the few "outside" women, who were brought into the Trumaí village through marriage, failed to restore the balance. Moreover, there were no "outside" men

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182 in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would
648 choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

105 It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for
162 this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of
43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number
when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of
the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who
105 were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others
163 were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were
161 taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

847 The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years
845 apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may
well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The long post-natal
[171] taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied
the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional
practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group
also.[3]

105 But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimen-
161 sion. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she
178 had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's
154 children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and
only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

105 Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss
511 of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and
433 therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow
226 fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal sub-
sistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

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[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [3] Wagley 1940.

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a certain point at least, the take increases geometrically with the number of persons participating.

In gardening, also, which was not practiced collectively, their small number decreased Trumaí security. It was common for nearly all the village men to plant their gardens in clearings adjacent to those of their neighbors. Obviously, if one part of such a single, extended clearing was improperly fired, or if the crops were destroyed by armadillos or wild pigs, the whole village might be without food. 105 241 433 Crop failure for a variety of causes is common in the tropical forests, but most aboriginal communities in South America have several separated garden clearings, each owned by an individual or extended family. If one garden fails, the family can, in a period of emergency, reap from others. Oberg relates that the Trumai once had to turn for food to the Kamayura,[4] perhaps because of the failure of the village clearing. [731] [648]

It is, of course, possible that in the past the Trumaí organized their gardens along the more rational lines of the Kamayurá;[5] and it is also possible that they never made a proper ecological adaptation subsequent to their arrival in the upper Xingú region. But lacking information on their economy prior to their decimation, we cannot make any firm statement on these points. However, it is certain that, despite their small numbers, the individual Trumaí could have cleared and planted much more land. The average size of the gardens observed by Quain was one-half acre, and this area had to feed up to four people. Many men also had old gardens which were planted only to manioc. According to Quain's calculations, the total acreage of Trumaí gardens was only a little over thirteen. Since yields from forest soils are not high, it is evident that this very small area must have barely met the needs of a population of 43 persons. Manifestly, the Trumaí did not work hard enough; and it seems evident that their lack of application did more to impoverish them than any other single factor. [461]

If the other upper Xingú tribes are used as criteria to establish what Trumaí society was like before its decline, some very serious dysfunctions within Trumaí social structure soon become apparent. To be sure, such a comparison is an arbitrary procedure; and it is only invoked here for its heuristic value. 105 174 571 602 Since village and house patrilocality is the usual mode of residence among the Trumaí, a household similar to that of the Kamayurá, and with like functions, might be expected and might indeed have existed in the past. However, the Trumaí death rate in 1938 was so high that these units disintegrated before they had gone beyond the embryonic stage. House membership was shifting, the number of persons involved small, and leadership nebulous. And since kinship was the principal mechanism for structuring interpersonal relationships in Trumaí society, this lack of a stable, kin-structured unit probably did

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[4] Oberg 1953, p. 42.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

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174 serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals
571 could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no
602 relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law
[606] normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger
married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives.
[582] Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins
were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage
[578] of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator
of kinship bonds.

105 Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines
182 of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable
626 to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation
or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this
[622] structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the
growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

105 A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed
182 within the Trumai village. Some are a function of personality, others of
578 the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and
many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing.
[796] Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many
elements in the Trumai ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the
105 highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious
182 expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to
771 the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus
for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of

Trumaí culture and the shortness of their average life span must have 105
seriously interfered with the instruction of the young. In addition, the 182
very eclecticism of Trumaí culture militated against conservatism and 771
is indicative of the low value which they placed on their own culture.

In the chapter on religion, the disinterest of the people in their religious activities was often noted. Such behavior may appear paradoxical, but ethnographic literature provides many instances of the decline of traditional belief systems in the face of cultural crisis. In the case of the Trumaí, disinterest in the religious sphere was closely related to disinterest in other aspects of their culture. The Trumaí world view had
become a philosophy of despair. While depopulation was causing social [181]
and cultural disintegration, cultural factors in their turn were furthering depopulation. The Trumai were set in a steady downward spiral.

In summary it can be said that, on the basis of Quain's notes, the 105
Trumaí were an anxiety ridden people. They were extremely sensitive 152
and their feelings were easily hurt. They demanded individual recognition 156
and attention. They were disinclined to work in their own interest 181
or to join with each other in community projects. Apathetic towards their own world, they were distrustful of the world outside. These observations find considerable confirmation in de Lima's comments on the Trumaí:

> The behavior of this tribe which lives today in a state of humiliation and withdrawal in the face of the other peoples, is quite different from that of the Tupians. They are extremely distrustful Indians; they do not have a frank and happy expression and no matter how long one lives with them they remain always shut off. They do not have the dynamism, nor the disposition to work of the Kamayurá.[8]

It seems certain that this personality structure was not a survival of 105
their more prosperous pre-contact period, when the Trumaí enjoyed 152
some renown as warriors, but was a product of the growing distress 182
which emerged during the period when the their whole security system of the individual — kinship and community — was breaking down. Under the new circumstances the individual Trumai was no longer lodged in the matrix of the extended family. No longer did the rules of kinship that had formerly guided interpersonal relations operate smoothly for him. No longer did a vigorous community intervene between him and the outside world. There was no strong family, community, or tradition with which he could identify himself. The weakening of the socio-cultural structure precipitated him into conflict with his fellows; and it caused him to transfer some of his dependence to other and stronger groups. And in this effort also, he was unsuccessful, for other tribes looked down upon him as a member of an irredeemably inferior group.

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[8] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

105 182 The dilemma of the individual, itself a function of the deterioration of the group, strengthened the centripetal forces within the society. Similarly, the apathy induced by the process of ego-destruction rendered the Trumaí economically incompetent, and reduced the village to a marginal level of subsistence. Under these conditions, his failure to procreate is understandable.

But no one factor explains the passing of the Trumaí. This was not the result of an acculturative process, since the Trumaí were not adapting to anything new. Their recent history, however, underlines a development in which depopulation, cultural disintegration and personality disorganization engendered further depopulation, cultural disintegration, and personality disorganization. That such a development is cataclysmic in a group as small as the Trumaí is shown by the marginality of the twenty-five survivors and the precarious position of their social identity only seventeen years after Quain left their midst.

APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from 114
Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí
culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline.
Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which
was discovered after this monograph was completed: 105

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of 177
Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá [86]
words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kama- [191]
yurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in
Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in
preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; [563]
she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about
twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses
Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All
Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives
among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position
which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of dis- [519]
organized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear [513]
throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kama- [152]
yurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethno- [123]
logical value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little. . .
Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five 105
because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, ac- 592
cording to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen
women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one [563]
is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ring-
worm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapiti, but she is well set [753]
in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of [548]
aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by
every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I 105
have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 125
'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the
woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The
women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also
lacked this stereotyped response.)

105
181 "Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declin-
421 ing culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their
lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about
[578] gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get
[431] no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them.
[855] Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this
respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding
a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession
[437] is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid.
Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving
[524] more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish
[358] property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five
[431] year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership
attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in
[865] a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

105 "These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their
village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals.
[361] They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It
has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the
heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river
have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important
result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of
[324] metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct
[182] Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1]
The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

105 "The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes
123 behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the
156 language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the
actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one
man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock
fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

[869] "The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-
village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the
105 floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit
[574] with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house ....
Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a sha-
[833] dowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts
strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

105 "Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy,
162 lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and
831

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[616] [1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not 105
very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá 831
captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These [162]
women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is 105
no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play
results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. 831
But to the Trumaí such activity has little emotional content. It does not 838
seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her 105
husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom 833
she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex 593
occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going [152]
to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in
many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom
the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Coopera- 105
tion rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. [157]
Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock-dis-
play of solid cooperation.... There is only one old man, who is about [476]
seventy — all others are under 45 ..... All death is murder. Nobody [609]
expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry [162]
bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant [761]
fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá.... There are imaginary
attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — [152]
the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes
at the margin of the village....

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work 105
and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his
wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but 622
it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes
in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the
only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with
the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their [171]
culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where
the chief is the best worker .... When the season changes, the Trumaí
chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do 105
anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated 181
by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build 476
the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mos-
quitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The 607
brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two
brothers lived comfortably in it.

105 “Angry stylized quarreling is a legal device. The village hoots in
622 derision at him whose argument is poor. The chief must be a master at
578 this kind of argument, but all men and even women participate ....
[622] Though everyone makes speeches, it is only the chief who makes executive
speeches. Quarrels have always been about women, with the
[123] exception of the one which occurred upon my arrival in the village (one
party disapproved of me...). The chief does not interfere in personal
[622] quarrels. The other men sit quietly in the center of the village smoking
and trying to disregard the quarrel, which may be going on over their
very heads. When the contenders have retired from the village green,
they are perfectly calm. The argument is suspended until it can be
carried on publicly. There seem to be no secret alliances among the men.

105 “Another thing I must mention is the complete lack of emotional
182 content in religious ceremonies. These are mildly pleasant chores.
771 Although their structure is designed for a public pageant, nobody pays
attention.”
796

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